university students were included to ensure the heterogeneity of the sample.

Sample Limitations. The generalizability of my study's findings is limited by the fact that most (94%) of the late adolescent subjects were college students enrolled in a sociology or psychology course at a post-secondary educational institution in Edmonton. Unfortunately, no youths enrolled in other courses were available and no youths who were employed full-time volunteered to participate. Youths who were neither working nor studying were also unavailable.

All subjects in my study were volunteers. Although necessary, the voluntary nature of subjects' participation likely resulted in the selection of certain types of students--those interested in psychological or sociological research, those interested in the specific topic of this study, and those interested in and hopeful of convincing his or her parents to participate. Although it is possible that the non-participation of one or both parents in some families is an indication of some familial characteristics that are not generalizable to many other families at this stage of the family life cycle, as I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, only two significant F-ratios were obtained when statistical comparisons were made between the adolescents and families with one, two, or three members participating.

Although my sample does reflect the approximate sex distributions in the classes I sampled, the generalizability of my study may also ~~be limited~~ by the disproportionate numbers of male and female adolescents (74% female) and by the disproportionate numbers of fathers and mothers (104 mothers and 87 fathers) who participated. Although the various test instruments I used were normed with families and adolescent groups consisting of both males and females, some researchers (e.g., Gilligan, 1982) have argued that male adolescents' identity formation takes a somewhat different course than female adolescents' identity formation. However, in my study, there was not a significant relationship between the sex of the adolescent subjects and either the dependent or independent variables. The absence of data in 32 of the families regarding fathers' perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability and fathers' levels of satisfaction with the family, is a significant limitation because it is not known whether families whose fathers did participate were significantly different from those whose fathers did not participate.

Instruments Used

Personal and Family Information. I designed a research questionnaire to obtain information about the age, sex, cultural background, ethnic background, religious background, marital status, birth order, current living arrangement, educational status, and employment status of each of the adolescents in my sample. I also obtained information about the parents' marital circumstances, educational level, employment status, and occupation, and information about family size. The information I solicited on the personal and family information questionnaire was obtained from the adolescent subjects alone, although they were encouraged to consult with their parents so that the information they provided would be accurate. The questionnaire is included in Appendix B.

In addition to the personal and family information questionnaire, I used four research instruments. The Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS) was designed by Gerald R. Adams and his colleagues at Utah State University in 1979; the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES III) and the Family Satisfaction instruments were developed by David H. Olson and his colleagues at the University of Minnesota in 1985 and 1982 respectively; the Adolescent-Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (A-FILE) was developed by Hamilton I. McCubbin and collaborators, also at the University of Minnesota, in 1981.

Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS). This instrument was designed by Adams, Shea, and Fitch (1979) as an objective, self-report measure to assess adolescent ego-identity status. The OM-EIS consists of 24 items designed to assess the self-reported presence or absence of a crisis period and/or commitment in the three areas of career outlook, religious perspective, and political ideology. There are six items for each of the four identity statuses, and a six-point Likert-type scale is used for each item. On the basis of the responses selected for each item, a status score is computed for the diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achieved subscales. Cut-off scores for each subscale are calculated by adding one standard deviation to the mean for each identity scale (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979). If an individual has one identity status score that is equal to or greater than the cut-off computed for that subscale, the individual is placed in the corresponding identity status. If an individual has no scores that exceed the four cut-offs, the individual is arbitrarily scored as being in the moratorium status, and if an individual has more than one score above the cutoff, the individual is scored as being in a transition stage (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979).

Studies by Adams and his colleagues (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979; Adams & Jones, 1983; Adams, Ryan, Hoffman, Dobson, & Nielsen, 1984) have demonstrated the psychometric properties of the OM-EIS. Reported test-retest reliabilities ranged from .78 to .93 over two weeks and from .43 to .59 over 18 months for the four subscales. Internal consistency (alphas) ranged from .66 to .81, and the instrument achieved satisfactory predictive validity with a number of related personality constructs. Concurrent validity with Marcia's (1966) Ego Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank and the Ego Identity Interview has also been demonstrated.

Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales - (Faces-III). Faces III is the third version of the instrument designed to assess the two major dimensions of the circumplex model--family cohesion and family adaptability. It is a 20-item, Likert-type scale intended for administration to family members age 12 and over, across the life cycle. Ten items assess family cohesion and 10 assess family adaptability. Olson suggests that as many family members as possible complete the instrument so that each member's perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability can be compared to the others, and so that couple and family scores can be computed. Although Olson now recommends using a separate test to measure family members' satisfaction with perceived levels of family cohesion and adaptability, like its predecessors, FACES III can also be administered twice, once to obtain members' perceptions of current ("real") family functioning, and again to assess their views of "ideal" family functioning. Comparisons of real and ideal scores gives an estimate of the members' satisfaction.

FACES III is easy to administer and to score, and separate norms for parents and adolescents in the adolescent and launching stages of the family life cycle are available. Three cut-off scores are provided for the cohesion and adaptability scales by using the mean, by adding one standard deviation to the mean, and by subtracting one standard deviation from the mean. Individual cohesion and adaptability scores are then used to place the individual in one of the four cohesion categories and in one of the four adaptability categories (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1985).

According to Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985), one of the major goals in constructing FACES III was to significantly reduce, if not eliminate, the correlation found between cohesion and adaptability on FACES II (r = .65). They reported that the correlation between these two dimensions on FACES III is .03, resulting in two, clearly independent scales. Construct validity of the instrument is also demonstrated by the lack of correlation between adaptability and social desirability (r = .00), although some correlation remains between cohesion and social desirability (r = .35), likely, as Olson states, "because high cohesion is a characteristic that is more embedded into our culture as an ideal for families" (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1985, p. 23). The internal consistency (alphas) for each scale range from .75 to .77 for the cohesion scale, from .58 to .63 for the adaptability scale, and from .67 to .68 for the total scale.

Family Satisfaction. This instrument was designed to assess family satisfaction on the dimensions of family cohesion and family adaptability. It consists of 14 items, eight of which apply to satisfaction with family cohesion and six of which measure satisfaction with family adaptability. Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985) indicate that the total satisfaction score is more reliable and valid than the two subscale scores. The Cronbach alpha reliability is reported as .92 for the total scale, and as .85 and .84 for the cohesion and adaptability subscales respectively. Five week test-retest reliability coefficients are reported as .75 for the total scale, .76 for the cohesion subscale, and .67 for the adaptability subscale. Separate norms for parents and adolescents are provided.

Adolescent-Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (A-FILE). The A-FILE is a 50-item self-report instrument designed to record both normative and non-normative life events and changes that adolescents perceive their families to have experienced during the past 12 months (McCubbin, Patterson, Baumann, & Harris, 1981). For 27 of the 50 items in the scale, the adolescent is also asked to indicate if certain life events have occurred prior to the past year. These items are viewed as generally taking longer to adapt to or as having a more prolonged effect on the family. The instrument was developed for use with adolescents from age 12 to 18. There are six subscales identified by factor analysis: (a) transitions, (b) sexuality, (c) losses, (d) responsibilities and strains, (e) substance use, and (f) legal conflict.

In addition to the construct validity determined by factor analysis, predictive validity has been demonstrated by correlating the subscales of the A-FILE with two outcome measures--adolescent substance abuse and health locus of control. The overall internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) for the Total Scale is .82, and the Cronbach alphas for six subscales range from .43 (sexuality) to .74 (responsibilities and strains). Test-retest reliabilities for adolescents tested two weeks apart range from .69 (responsibilities and strains) to .90 (sexuality) on the six subscales, and the reliability coefficient for the 'total recent life changes' scale is .82.

For the purposes of this study, I selected only nine of the items from the responsibilities and strains subscale. The rationale I used for selecting these items was that they reflect current issues that are indicative of the kind of relational stress expected to coincide with the youth's identity explorations.

The following items (questions 36 through 44 of A-FILE) were included:

1. Child or teenage member resists doing things with family
2. Increase in arguments between parents
3. Children or teenagers have more arguments with one another

4. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over use of car or hours to stay out
5. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over choice of friends and/or social activities
6. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over attendance at religious activities
7. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over personal appearance (clothes, hair, etc.)
8. Increased arguments about getting the jobs done at home
9. Increased pressure for a member in school to get "good" grades or do well in sports or school activities

The number of items checked by the adolescent as having occurred in his or her family within the past 12 months was recorded as the parent-adolescent stress score.

In this chapter, a description of the methods I used to gather data relevant to the purpose of my study was presented. In the next chapter, I will present the results of the various statistical analyses that I completed. I will compare the results with my hypotheses and discuss the results in terms of the support or lack of support my hypotheses received.

CHAPTER 4

Results

The purpose of my study was to examine the relationship of late adolescent identity formation and (a) family cohesion, (b) family adaptability, and (c) family satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability. I also examined the relationship of parent-adolescent stress to identity development and to family cohesion and adaptability.

In this chapter, the data relevant to my study and the results of the various statistical procedures I used to examine the data, are presented. First, I will provide a summary of the data regarding the dependent and independent variables and a comparison of my data with that provided in the literature or in the manuals for the test instruments I used. The purpose of this analysis was to determine if the sample I used was similar to or different from the populations on which the various test instruments were normed. Second, I will summarize the results of various statistical tests with the demographic variables of my sample. The purpose of this analysis was to determine whether or not any of the demographic variables were significantly related to adolescent identity, family cohesion, family adaptability, family satisfaction, or parent-adolescent stress. Third, because some families in my sample were represented by three family members (two parents and one adolescent), others by two family members (one parent and one adolescent), and still others by one family member (adolescent only), I will present a summary of my comparison of the data for these three groups to determine if there were significant differences in my data based on the number of individuals from each family who participated in the study. Fourth, I will describe the results of the statistical procedures used to test my hypotheses.

Examination of the Data for Comparability With Other Studies

Independent Variables

Table 2 lists the maximum and minimum values, means, standard deviations, and cut-off scores (mean score and one standard deviation above and below the mean) for fathers, mothers, adolescents, and for the three family members combined, on the family cohesion, family adaptability, and family satisfaction variables. The values recorded for families are the means of the family mean scores.

Family cohesion. Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985) reported a range of 10 to 50, a mean of 37.1 and a standard deviation of 6.1 for family mean scores on the cohesion dimension. Thus, Olson's cut-off scores for the four levels of cohesion are 31, 37, and 43. The range, mean, standard deviation, and cut-off scores for my sample are comparable to those reported by Olson. However, in my sample, adolescents tended to perceive less family cohesiveness than their parents.

In their study of 1315 families with adolescents (oldest child, 12 to 19 years old), Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985) found that 18.6% were disengaged, 30.3% were separated, 36.4% were connected, and 14.7% were enmeshed. The

Table 2

Ranges, Means, Standard Deviations, and Cut-offs for Family Cohesion, Adaptability, and Satisfaction Scores

Family Unit	Range	Mean	S.D.	Cut-offs
		Family Cohesion		
Father	23 - 50	37.4	5.2	32 37 43
Mother	14 - 49	37.0	6.6	30 37 44
Adolescent	13 - 47	32.9	7.2	26 33 40
Family	19 - 48	35.6	5.7	30 36 41
		Family Adaptability		
Father	11 - 49	25.2	5.9	19 25 31
Mother	12 - 45	24.5	6.0	18 24 30
Adolescent	10 - 42	24.1	6.5	18 24 31
Family	14 - 41	24.6	5.1	20 25 30
		Family Satisfaction		
Father	34 - 65	48.3	7.4	41 48 56
Mother	17 - 65	46.0	8.8	37 46 55
Adolescent	24 - 67	46.6	9.5	37 47 56
Family	28 - 61	46.7	7.0	40 47 54

Note. Cut-off scores are calculated by adding one S.D. to and subtracting one S.D. from the mean. Family scores are the means of father, mother, and adolescent scores for each family.

comparable figures for my study are 19.0% disengaged, 38.1% separated, 37.1% connected, and 5.7% enmeshed.

Family adaptability. Olson's manual (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1985) also reported family mean adaptability scores with a range of 10 to 50, a mean of 24.3 and a standard deviation of 4.8, yielding cut-off scores of 19, 24, and 29. The range, mean, standard deviation, and cut-off scores for my sample are very similar to those reported by Olson. Scores for fathers, mothers, and adolescents were also very similar.

According to Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985), 15.9% of the families in his large sample were rigid, 37.3% were structured, 32.9% were flexible, and 13.9% were chaotic. The corresponding proportions for my study are as follows: 15.2% rigid, 32.4% structured, 38.1% flexible, and 14.3% chaotic.

The correlation matrix in Table 3 indicates that family members' in my study tended to have similar perceptions of family cohesion and of family adaptability. The corresponding correlation coefficients provided by Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985) are listed in brackets below the correlation coefficients for my sample. Family members in my sample, particularly mothers and adolescents, were generally in more agreement regarding their perceptions of family functioning than were family members in Olson's large scale study. In agreement with Olson, I found a low correlation between family cohesion and family adaptability.

I found significant positive relationships among family members' cohesion

Table 3

Intercorrelations Between Cohesion and Adaptability Scores

Subscale	2	3	4	5	6
1. Fathers' Cohesion	.59*** (.44)	.48*** (.44)	.14	.15	-.10
2. Mothers' Cohesion	--	.63*** (.38)	.12	.31**	.24**
3. Youths' Cohesion		--	.00	.18*	.19*
4. Fathers' Adapt'y.			--	.48*** (.25)	.34** (.21)
5. Mothers' Adapt'y.				--	.43*** (.13)
6. Youths' Adapt'y.					--

Note. Adapt'y. is an abbreviation for Adaptability. Numbers in brackets are the corresponding correlation coefficients obtained by Olson and his colleagues in his 1985 study. Olson provides correlation coefficients only for family members' cohesion scores and for family members' adaptability scores, not for family members' cohesion and adaptability scores together.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

scores and among family members' adaptability scores. Thus, fathers, mothers, and adolescents typically agreed when they evaluated the cohesion and when they evaluated the adaptability of their families. With respect to perceived family cohesion the shared variance is 35% for fathers and mothers, 23% for fathers and adolescents, and 40% for mothers and adolescents. With respect to perceived levels of family adaptability, fathers and mothers shared 23% of the variance, fathers and adolescents shared 12% of the variance, and mothers and adolescents shared 19% of the variance. Given the internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) statistics provided by Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985)--.77 for cohesion and .62 for adaptability--it appears that the different family members in my study shared similar perceptions of family functioning.

Family satisfaction. Olson indicated that parents in his study (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1985) obtained a mean of 47.0 and adolescents obtained a mean of 45.0 on the Family Satisfaction instrument. The mean satisfaction scores obtained for parents and adolescents in my sample are very similar to Olson's, although, in my sample, adolescents were slightly more satisfied than their mothers, rather than less satisfied, as Olson found.

Using the procedure employed by Olson to obtain four cohesion and adaptability levels from the mean scores and standard deviations, I calculated cut-off scores and four levels of satisfaction--low, low average, high average, and high--for the family satisfaction variable. Olson did not provide standard deviations or cut-off scores for the parent and adolescent satisfaction scores in his study. However, he did provide percentiles for the range of total satisfaction scores he obtained (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1985). I calculated the proportions of individuals in Olson's study that scored low, low average, high average, or high, on his Family Satisfaction instrument. Thus I was able to compare Olson's percentiles with the percentages of individuals falling between the cut-off scores derived from my study. This information is summarized in Table 4.

The ranges, means, standard deviations, and cut-off scores for family cohesion, adaptability, and satisfaction in my sample are very similar to those reported by Olson. Therefore, I conclude that the families used in my study and in Olson's, were similar in perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability, and in members' levels of satisfaction with their perceptions.

Parent-adolescent stress. On the nine-item measure of parent-adolescent stress, scores ranged from zero (no parent-adolescent stress) to nine (considerable stress and conflict between parents and adolescents). The mean parent-adolescent stress score was 2.57 and the standard deviation was 2.36. Sixty-eight youths (58%) indicated that there was relatively little stress between themselves and their parents (two or fewer items scored); 34 youths (29%) indicated moderate levels of stress (between three and five items selected); and only 15 youths (13%) indicated that there was fairly high levels of stress (six or more items selected) in their relationships with their parents.

Table 4

Proportions of Dissatisfied, Moderately Satisfied, and Satisfied Families from My Study and from Olson's Study

	Family Satisfaction Category			
Group	Low	Low Average	High Average	High
My Study				
Fathers	19%	32%	34%	15%
Mothers	12%	38%	32%	18%
Adolescents	20%	29%	37%	14%
Olson's Study				
Parents	19%	33%	27%	21%
Adolescents	16%	42%	30%	12%

Dependent Variables

Table 5 records my adolescent subjects' maximum and minimum values, means, standard deviations and cut-off scores on the diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achieved scales of Adams' Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS). My data can be compared with that provided by Adams and his colleagues (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979; Grotevant & Adams, 1984). These studies have provided a variety of means, standard, deviations, and cut-off scores for the four identity statuses. Using college student subjects, most of whom were freshmen, Adams reported mean scores for the diffusion scale ranging from 15.60 (S.D. = 3.29) to 22.10 (S.D. = 5.7); mean scores for the foreclosure scale ranging from 16.24 (S.D. = 5.22) to 20.90 (S.D. = 6.4); mean scores for the moratorium scale ranging from 16.94 (S.D. = 3.96) to 26.50 (S.D. = 6.3); and mean scores for the achievement scale ranging from 26.38 (S.D. = 4.08) to 33.10 (S.D. = 5.6). In Grotevant and Adams' (1984) studies, scores ranged from 8 to 41 on the diffusion scale, from 8 to 41 on the foreclosure scale, from 8 to 44 on the moratorium scale, and from 19 to 48 on the achievement scale. Ranges of scores are not provided for Adams, Shea, and Fitch's (1979) study.

Because of the variation in scale means and standard deviations reported by Adams and his colleagues, it appears that the OM-EIS is not well standardized for late adolescent college student subjects. Different cut-off scores were employed in the various studies reported by Adams (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979; Grotevant & Adams, 1984). The data from my study are similar to

Table 5

Ranges, Means, Standard Deviations, and Cut-offs for Adolescents' Identity Status Scale Scores

Identity Scale	Range	Mean	S.D.	Cut-off
Diffusion	4 - 30	15.58	5.46	21.04
Foreclosure	6 - 28	16.56	4.52	21.08
Moratorium	7 - 29	18.01	4.50	22.51
Achieved	12 - 35	24.13	4.39	28.52

Note. The cut-off scores are obtained by adding one S.D. to the mean.

those from Adams' original validation study of the OM-EIS (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979), which produced the following cut-off scores: for the diffusion scale, 18.89; for the foreclosure scale, 21.47; for the moratorium scale, 20.90; and for the achievement scale, 30.46. In keeping with Adams' methodology, I used the cut-off scores calculated for my sample to place adolescents in the four identity statuses.

In Table 6, the data from my study regarding the proportions of youths in each of the identity statuses are compared with data provided by Adams and his collaborators (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979; Grotevant & Adams, 1984). The proportions of males and females in each of the identity statuses in my sample are quite similar. As in Adams' studies, most youths are in the moratorium status. This is likely because a relatively large number of youths whose scores do not clearly identify them as belonging to one of the other statuses, are placed within the moratorium status (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979). Grotevant and Adams (1984) found a relatively large number of diffused youths in their samples, while there were significantly less diffused youths in Adams' original study with the OM-EIS. In my study, the proportion of diffused adolescents falls between the extremes presented in Adams' studies. Relatively few adolescents, in my and in Adams' studies, are in the committed statuses (foreclosure and achievement) as opposed to the non-committed statuses (diffusion and moratorium). In my study, there were fewer achieved adolescents, in comparison to Adams' studies.

Table 6

Proportions of Youths in Four Identity Statuses in My Study and in Adams' Studies

	Identity Status			
Group	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achieved
My Study				
Male	29%	10%	48%	13%
Female	27%	15%	51%	7%
Total Sample	27.7%	13.4%	50.4%	8.4%
Adams, Shea, and Fitch (1979)				
Total Sample	16.7%	12.5%	52.1%	18.8%
Grotevant and Adams (1984)				
Total Sample	34.0%	10.4%	44.0%	11.5%

The Pearson product-moment correlation matrix of identity status scale scores for my sample is depicted in Table 7. A significant positive relationship was found between youths' diffusion and moratorium scores, likely reflecting the lack of identity commitment common to these two statuses. A significant negative correlation was identified for youths' achievement and moratorium scores, likely because of the commitment without crisis of identity achieved youths, in contrast to the crisis without commitment characteristic of moratorium youths. Youths' achievement and diffusion scores are also significantly, negatively correlated, reflecting the commitment of achieved youths and the lack of commitment of diffused youths. The absence of any significant relationships between foreclosure scores and other identity status scales scores indicates that the commitment without prior identity exploration, characteristic of foreclosed adolescents, is unique to them.

In summary, with respect to the independent variables of my study, the comparison of my data with the normative data for the test instruments I used indicates that, in general, my sample is similar (but not identical) to the populations on which the various test instruments were normed. The parents and adolescents in my sample were quite similar in their perceptions of family cohesion and family adaptability--more similar than the family members were in Olson's study. Family members in my study were comparable to those in Olson's study in terms of their levels of satisfaction with family cohesion and adaptability although adolescents in my study were somewhat more satisfied

Table 7

Intercorrelations Between Identity Status Scale Scores

Status	2	3	4
1. Diffusion	-.01	.49**	-.26*
2. Foreclosure	--	.00	.08
3. Moratorium		--	-.41**
4. Achieved			--

* p <.005. **p <.001.

than adolescents in Olson's study. I also found that few adolescents reported high levels of parent-adolescent stress or conflict. My comparison of the data regarding youths' identity status scores in my study with those reported by Adams and his collaborators indicates that the proportions of males and females in the various statuses are similar and that there are relatively few youths who have made an identity commitment in comparison to those who have not made a commitment.

In the next section of the chapter, I present the results of various statistical tests used to determine whether or not certain demographic characteristics of my sample of adolescents and parents are significantly related to the dependent and independent variables.

Demographic Variables

In order to determine whether or not the dependent and independent variables were related to the demographic characteristics of my sample, a series of *t*-test, one-way ANOVA, and Pearson product-moment correlation analyses were conducted. The demographic variables I tested included sex, age, birth order, and living arrangement of adolescent subjects; the type of educational institution adolescents attended; and parent's ages. The results of these analyses are presented next.

Sex

There were no significant differences when male scores on the dependent and independent variables were compared with female scores ($p > .05$). Thus, youths' identity status; family cohesiveness, adaptability, and satisfaction; and parent-adolescent stress are all independent of the sex of the adolescent. However, there were some interesting trends in this data. For example, it appears that parents of males may perceive their families as being slightly (but not significantly) more cohesive than parents of females. However, male adolescents seem to perceive their families as a little less cohesive than their female counterparts. Male adolescents and their parents also seem to perceive their families as being slightly more adaptable than female adolescents and their parents. Another trend was towards slightly higher foreclosure and moratorium scores for female adolescents, compared with male adolescents.

Age

The results of t-test analyses comparing scores on the dependent and independent variables across the two adolescent age groups were all non-significant ($p > .05$). However, I noted a trend that suggested that fathers of older (19 year old) youths were slightly less satisfied with their family cohesion and adaptability, and perceived their families as being less cohesive, than fathers of younger (18 year old) adolescents. Also, older youths tended to see their families as slightly more adaptable than younger youths.

Birth order

Birth order was not significant in explaining the variance in dependent and independent variables, according to the one-way analyses of variance I conducted. However, some interesting trends do appear: later-born adolescents tend to have slightly lower scores on the committed status scales (foreclosed and achieved) and slightly higher scores on the uncommitted status scales (moratorium and diffusion) compared to first-born adolescents. Also, fathers of later-born youths tend to perceive their families as more cohesive than fathers of first-born youths. Adaptability scores in families of later-born youths tend to be slightly lower than in families of first-born youths.

Living Arrangement

The majority (63%) of youths in my sample were living at home. Youths living elsewhere (with friends, with relatives, in college residences, etc.) were combined into a not-at-home group, and their scores on the dependent and independent variables were compared with those of youths living at home.

As expected, I found that adolescents living at home reported significantly more parent-adolescent stress ($\underline{M}$ = 3.0) than adolescents living away from home ($\underline{M}$ = 1.8; $\underline{t}$ [115] = 2.67, $\underline{p}$ <.01). I also found that fathers of youths living at home saw their families as being significantly more adaptable ($\underline{M}$ = 26.7) than fathers of youths living elsewhere ($\underline{M}$ = 22.1; $\underline{t}$ [85] = 3.67, $\underline{p}$ <.001). Mothers of youths at home tended to agree with their husbands in this respect, although their adaptability scores were not significantly different ($\underline{p}$>.05) from those of mothers of not-at-home youths. Interestingly, the family cohesion scores of youths living at home were significantly lower ($\underline{M}$ = 31.8) than the cohesion scores of youths living away from home ($\underline{M}$ = 34.9; $\underline{t}$ [117] = 2.29, $\underline{p}$ < .05). Thus, it appears that youths living away from home feel more emotionally bonded to their parents than those living at home; perhaps absence does make the heart grow fonder.

Although no other _t_-tests with living arrangement were significant, my study did reveal some additional trends regarding the possible influence of home-living as opposed to living away from home: youths away from home tended to be more committed to an identity (foreclosed and identity achieved statuses), whereas youths living at home were less committed (diffused and moratorium statuses). Also, adolescents at home tended to be less satisfied with their perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability than youths away from home, while the parents of home-living youths were more satisfied than parents whose adolescents were not living at home. This suggests that home-living youths want changes in their family structure whereas their parents may be resisting such changes.

Type of Educational Institution Attended

My sample included students enrolled in freshman psychology and sociology classes at the University of Alberta, The King's College, and Concordia College, as well as a small number of students from Edmonton Christian High School. I used one-way analyses of variance to determine whether or not students from these institutions responded differently to the instruments used to measure the dependent and independent variables.

Students at The University of Alberta (_M_ = 34.1), Concordia College (_M_ = 32.8), and Edmonton Christian High School (_M_ = 32.7), tended to see their families as more cohesive (F [3, 114] = 2.91, p <.05) than students at The King's College (M = 27.1). Parents of students at The King's College and Concordia College (means for both parents ranged from 22.2 to 23.3) perceived their families as being less adaptable (for fathers, F [3, 83] = 3.01, p <.05; for mothers, F [3, 99] = 2.82, p <.05) than parents of University of Alberta and Edmonton Christian High School students (means for both parents ranged from 25.2 to 26.7). These results suggest that the families of adolescents attending the two colleges with religious affiliations may emphasize more rigid adherence to rules and responsibilities and may, therefore, be perceived by the adolescent members as being less close. Nevertheless, youth's identity status was found to be independent of the type of educational institution attended (p >.05).

Parent's Age

The only significant Pearson product-moment correlation between the dependent and independent variables and parents' ages, was with father's age and adolescent identity achievement scores (r = -.17, p <.05). For some reason, youths with younger fathers tended to have higher achievement scale scores on the OM-EIS.

Summary of Analyses of Demographic Variables

In summary, in my study, adolescent identity status, family cohesion, family adaptability, family satisfaction, and parent-adolescent stress were found to be independent of adolescents' sex, age and birth order. Because identity formation is seen as a developmental phenomenon, normally, adolescent identity status would be expected to be somewhat age dependent. However, as planned, the restricted age range of my sample effectively reduced the confounding effects of age.

As expected, youths living at home reported significantly more parent-adolescent stress than youths living away from home. In addition, parents of youths living away from home perceive their families as less adaptable (more structured). This may indicate that, after an adolescent member leaves home, the family tends to shift towards an increased emphasis on structure, rules, and role expectations. This hypothesis may also apply to the reportedly more structured families of youths attending The King's College and Concordia College, many of whom left home to attend the college of their choice.

In addition to the few statistically significant relationships between the independent (family) variables, and the students' living arrangements and type of educational institution they attend, some interesting trends were observed. Male adolescents may perceive their families as more cohesive than females. Male adolescents and their parents may also perceive their families as more adaptable than females and their parents. Other trends observed in my analysis of the relationship between the demographic characteristics of my sample and the dependent and independent variables, though not statistically significant, suggest that first-born children, living away from home, may form commitments to career and ideological values more quickly than later-born youths, living at home, who may avoid or delay making such commitments. Perhaps the home-leaving process for first-born youths is enhanced by such commitments, whether they simply identify with parental ideals, or achieve their own unique identity by engaging in a process of identity exploration.

The Effects of Parental Participation

Because data were collected from three family members (adolescent and both parents) in 86 cases, from two members (adolescent and one parent) in 19 cases, and from only the adolescent member in 14 cases, the scores obtained on the dependent and independent variables were contrasted for these three groups. No significant F-ratios were obtained when participants' family cohesion and adaptability, family satisfaction, and parent-adolescent stress scores were contrasted between the three groups. However, one-way analyses of variance found that youths whose parent(s) participated in the study had lower scores on identity achievement ($\underline{M}$ = 23.5 when both parents participated, $\underline{M}$ = 24.5 when one parent participated, and $\underline{M}$ = 27.1 when neither parent participated; $\underline{F}$ [2, 116] = 4.37, $\underline{p}$ <.05). Also, youths whose parent(s) participated had higher scores on moratorium ($\underline{M}$ = 18.4 when both parents participated, $\underline{M}$ = 18.1 when one parent participated, $\underline{M}$ = 15.2 when neither parent participated; F [2, 116] = 3.21, p < .05) than youths whose parent(s) did not participate.

I also wanted to determine if other characteristics of the adolescents and families in my sample were related to parental participation in the study. Chi-square tests of independence found the number of family members who participated to be independent of the adolescents' sex, age, birth order, living arrangement (at home or away from home), type of educational institution attended, and year of study. Parents' occupational class (not working, blue collar, white collar) and fathers' educational attainment (elementary/junior high, senior high, trade or technical training, some college or university, college/university degree) were also found to be independent of parental participation. However, mothers' educational attainment was significantly (but not logically) related to the number of family members who participated in the study (χ^2 [8, N = 117] = 17.66, $p < .05$). In cases where both parents participated, there were more than the expected number of families whose mothers had achieved only elementary/junior high school education or had achieved some college or university education, and there were fewer than the expected number of families whose mothers had achieved senior high school or trade/technical school training. The number of families whose mothers had achieved senior high school only was higher than expected in cases were neither or only one parent participated. These results do not appear to hold any special significance in explaining why, in some families, both parents completed the research questionnaires, whereas in other families, only one parent, or neither parent, did so.

In the next section of the chapter, the hypotheses of my study are restated followed by the results of the statistical analyses of the hypotheses. Because significant F-ratios were obtained when youths' achievement and moratorium scores were compared between families with one, two, and three participants, and because I intended to assess family variables from the perspectives of adolescents and their parents, only data from families in which one or both parents participated were included in the analyses ($N = 105$).

Examination of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Family Cohesion and Adolescent Identity Scores

> Adolescents in families with low cohesion scores will generally have high moratorium scores; adolescents in families with midrange (balanced) levels of cohesion will have high diffusion and achievement scores; and adolescents in families with high cohesion scores will have high foreclosure scores.

Figure 3 depicts the differences between the means on the diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achieved scales of the OM-EIS across the four family cohesion levels. One-way analyses of variance were used to test the significance of the differences between the mean diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achieved scores across the four levels of family cohesion. These results are summarized in Tables A-1, A-2, A-3, and A-4, in Appendix A.

Although the mean scores for diffusion and moratorium, across the four cohesion levels show a similar pattern--lowest among adolescents from families with very low (disengaged) levels of cohesion, a statistically significant difference was found only between the mean moratorium scores across the cohesion levels (F [3, 101] = 3.84, $p < .02$). The differences between the mean diffusion, foreclosure, and achieved scores did not reach statistical significance.

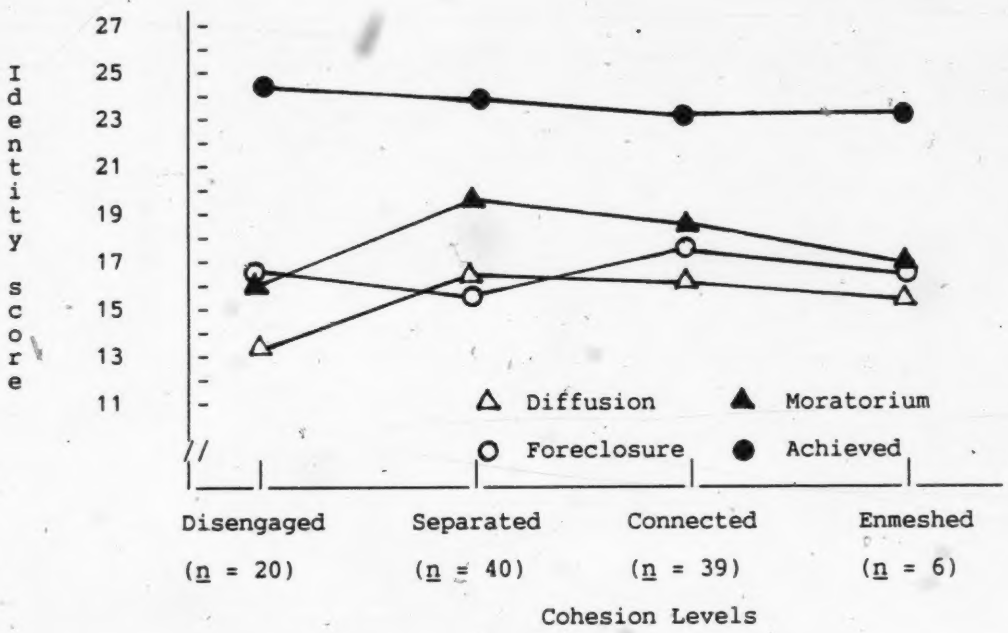


Figure 3. Youths' diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement mean scores across four levels of family cohesion.

The significant F-ratio I found for the moratorium scores across the four cohesion levels was further examined using a Scheffe multiple comparisons test. I found that the differences between the moratorium mean scores for youths from disengaged families ($M = 15.85$) was significantly different (F [3, 101] = 9.34, $p < .05$) from the moratorium scores for youths from separated families ($M = 19.68$). No other mean differences were significant.

Because only the F-ratio for moratorium scores was statistically significant, it appears that the family's perception of its cohesiveness is not a satisfactory predictor of adolescents' identity status scale scores. However, some trends in the relationship between family cohesion and adolescent identity are suggested by my data. Contrary to my predictions, adolescents from families with lower levels of cohesion tended to have higher achieved (rather than moratorium) scores, and adolescents from balanced (especially separated) families had significantly higher moratorium (rather than achieved) scores. However, as I predicted, adolescents from balanced families had slightly higher diffusion scores. As I predicted, adolescents from families with higher levels of cohesion were found to have higher foreclosure scores, but this difference was not statistically significant.

Hypothesis 2. Family Adaptability and Adolescent Identity Scores.

> Adolescents in families with lower adaptability scores will generally have higher diffusion scores; adolescents in families with midrange (balanced) levels of adaptability will have higher foreclosure and achieved scores;

and adolescents from families with higher adaptability scores will have higher moratorium scores.

Figure 4 depicts the differences between the means on the diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achieved scales of the OM-EIS, across the four family adaptability levels. One-way analyses of variance were used to test the statistical significance of the relationships depicted in Figure 4. These results are provided in Tables A-5, A-6, A-7, and A-8, in Appendix A.

Significant F-ratios were obtained for the differences between means on the diffusion (F [3, 101] = 3.52, p <.02) and achieved (F [3, 101] = 2.78, p <.05) scales across the adaptability levels. The differences between mean moratorium scores approached statistical significance (F [3, 101] = 2.22, p <.10). The significant F-ratios for diffusion and achieved scores across the four adaptability levels were further examined using Scheffe multiple comparison tests. The difference between diffusion means for youths from rigid families (M = 13.00) and from structured families (M = 17.18) was significant (F [3, 101] = 10.04, p <.05). Although I obtained a significant F-ratio for mean differences in achieved scores across the four adaptability levels, no Scheffe multiple comparison test F-ratios were significant at the .05 level.

Although family adaptability appears to have some significance in relation to adolescent members' ego-identity scores, the nature of the relationship is difficult to ascertain. The pattern of mean scores for diffusion and moratorium are somewhat similar. A rigid approach to family rules, roles, and relationships

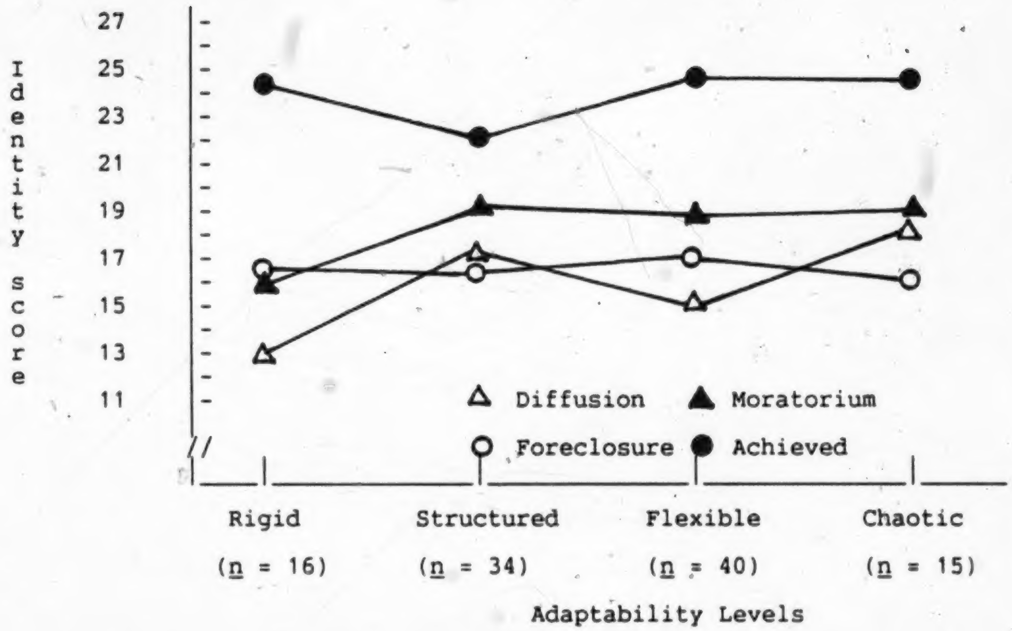


Figure 4. Youths' diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement mean scores across four levels of adaptability.

does not appear to be conducive to the absence of identity commitment, whether it is due to identity diffusion or to active exploration (identity crisis). However, based on the pattern of mean foreclosure and achieved scores, a rigid approach to family rules and roles does not promote identity commitment either.

The pattern of mean identity scores across the four levels of family adaptability suggests that diffusion and moratorium (non-commitment) in youths tend to coincide with patterns of family adaptability that are quite different from the patterns of adaptability that support identity achievement. Identity diffusion appears to be enhanced by both high and moderately low levels of adaptability whereas identity moratorium appears to be supported by all but a very low (rigid) level of adaptability. Identity achievement is supported by all but moderately low (structured) levels of family adaptability and foreclosure scores are unaffected by family adaptability levels.

The hypothesized relationships between family adaptability and adolescent identity status scale scores were not supported by my data. Family adaptability levels appear to promote or affect some identity processes, but not others. Non-commitment, whether that has included a period of active searching among alternative beliefs and choices (moratorium) or not (diffusion), and identity commitment after a period of searching (achieved), appear to be related to family adaptability, while commitment without exploration (foreclosure) is not. It may be, as my data suggest, that family power structures, role relationships and relationship rules are more influential in preventing certain identity formation patterns than in promoting them. For example, although identification with parental ideals (foreclosure) does not appear to be influenced by family adaptability, identity diffusion and moratorium (non-commitment) seem to be discouraged in rigid families, and identity achievement seems to be hindered by a moderately low (structured) level of adaptability.

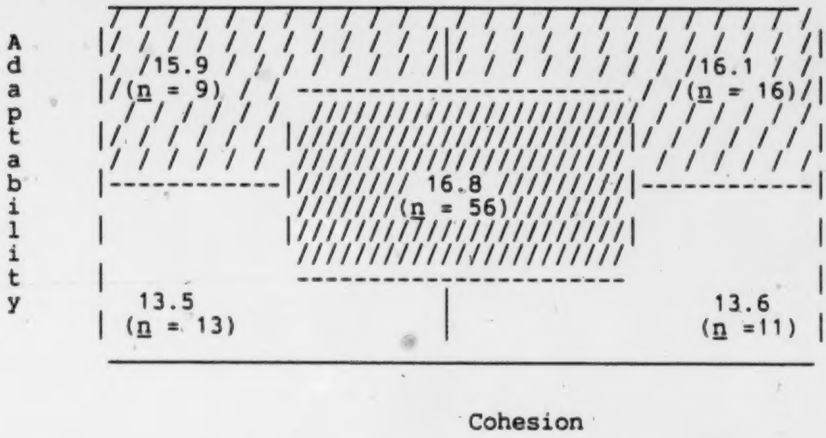
Because my hypotheses were based on Olson's hypotheses about family cohesion and family adaptability interacting together, I used two-way analyses of variance to determine whether or not family cohesion and family adaptability have an interactive effect on adolescent identity formation. Because my sample did not include families that were both enmeshed (very high cohesion) and rigid or structured (low adaptability), I combined the enmeshed and connected families for the purposes of this analysis. The results of this analysis are summarized in Tables A-9, A-10, A-11, and A-12, in Appendix A. However, a word of caution is necessary here. Because families with extreme levels of cohesion and adaptability are relatively rare, there are large differences in the cell sizes used in the two-way ANOVA's. Thus, an accurate comparison of the mean identity scores was not obtained.

Although no significant interaction effects between family cohesion and family adaptability were found to explain the differences in identity status means, my examination of this data indicates that there are some interesting trends in the pattern of mean identity scale scores across the various family types in Olson's Circumplex Model. These patterns are illustrated in Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8.

My predictions regarding the relationships between family typologies and identity statuses are depicted in Figure 2, in Chapter 2. I predicted that a shift to lower adaptability (more emphasis on power structures and more rigid enforcement of relationship rules), without altering family cohesiveness, would encourage identity diffusion. Although I did not assess shifts in family functioning or in identity status over time, my data (Figure 5) suggests that families that are balanced (midrange) on both adaptability and cohesion have youths with the highest mean diffusion scores. If any shifts in adaptability have occurred in families with adolescents scoring high on diffusion, it appears that the shift may be towards increased, not decreased, adaptability.

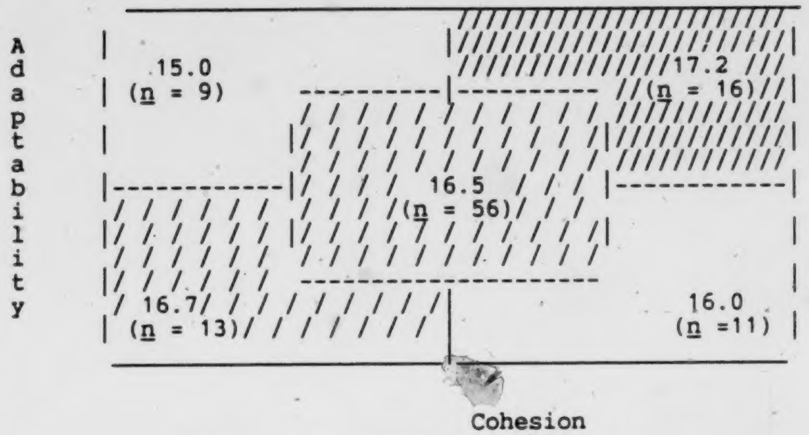
Because foreclosed adolescents have formed an identity commitment by identifying the parental ideals and values, I predicted (see Figure 2, Chapter 2) that they and their parents would shift towards increased cohesion. Although I did not identity family shifts, my data (Figure 6) generally supports this hypothesis. However, it also appears that an increase in adaptability may also accompany youths' identification with parental ideals. Interestingly, a number of adolescents with relatively high foreclosure scores also come from balanced families and from low cohesion, low adaptability families.

As Figure 2 in Chapter 2 illustrates, I predicted that moratorium youths would come from families that had shifted towards decreased cohesion and


Adaptability
15.9
(n = 9)
16.1
(n = 16)
16.8
(n = 56)
13.5
(n = 13)
13.6
(n =11)
Cohesion

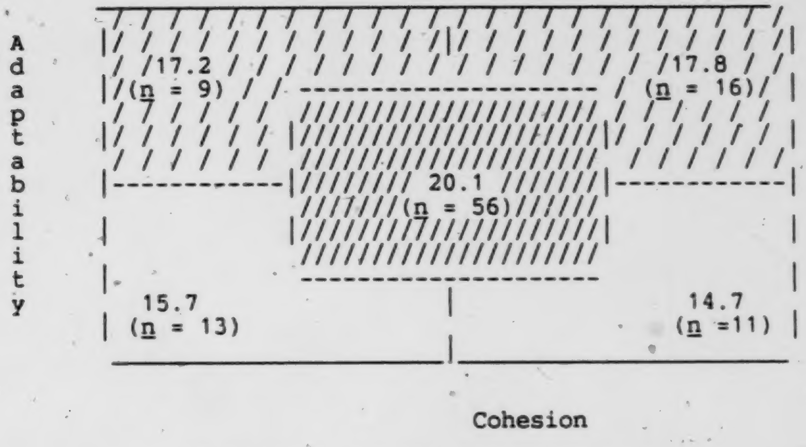
///////	Family type with highest mean score
/ / / /	Family types with midrange mean score
(unshaded)	Family types with lowest mean scores

Figure 5. Mean diffusion scores for youths from various family types on Olson's Circumplex Model


Adaptability
15.0
(n = 9)
17.2
(n = 16)
16.5
(n = 56)
16.7
(n = 13)
16.0
(n =11)
Cohesion

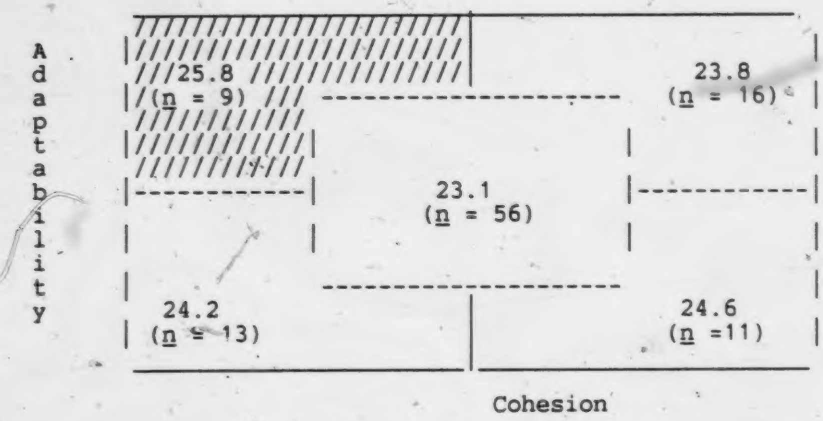
///////	Family type with highest mean score
/ / / /	Family types with midrange mean score
(unshaded)	Family types with lowest mean scores

Figure 6. Mean foreclosure scores for youths from various family types on Olson's Circumplex Model


Adaptability
17.2
(n = 9)
17.8
(n = 16)
20.1
(n = 56)
15.7
(n = 13)
14.7
(n =11)
Cohesion

///////	Family type with highest mean score
/ / / /	Family types with midrange mean score
(unshaded)	Family types with lowest mean scores

Figure 7. Mean moratorium scores for youths from various family types on Olson's Circumplex Model


Adaptability
25.8
(n = 9)
23.8
(n = 16)
23.1
(n = 56)
24.2
(n = 13)
24.6
(n =11)
Cohesion

/////// Family type with highest mean score

/ / / / Family types with midrange mean score

(unshaded) Family types with lowest mean scores

Figure 8. Mean achievement scores for youths from various family types on Olson's Circumplex Model

increased adaptability in order to promote, or tolerate, the youth's identity explorations. However, Figure 7 suggests that it is in balanced families that many youths experience an identity crisis although increased adaptability may also enhance identity exploration.

Identity achieved adolescents have formed a unique identity, after a period of active exploration and I predicted that, because they were no longer actively seeking career, religious, and political alternatives, they would turn their attention to renegotiating their relationships and the family's expectations, with their parents. This, I predicted, would be enhanced by a shift in family functioning towards more balanced cohesion and adaptability. As Figure 8 indicates, families of youths scoring high in achievement are relatively low in cohesion and relatively high in adaptability although some such youths come from families that are highly cohesive and rather rigid or structured in their rules, roles, and power hierarchies.

In summary, it appears that youths who scored high on the non-committed statuses (diffusion and moratorium) tend to come from balanced families. Neither the avoidance of identity issues characteristic of diffused youths, nor the active exploration of moratorium youths appear to be accompanied by, or to cause, a significant departure from balanced family functioning. However, youths scoring highest on the statuses that indicate that they have formed an identity commitment (foreclosure and achievement) appear to come from families that are quite different from each other and from the families of diffusion and moratorium youths. Families scoring high in both cohesion and adaptability appear to promote identity foreclosure while families that score low in cohesion and high in adaptability appear to promote identity achievement.

Hypothesis 3. Family Satisfaction and Adolescent Identity Scores

> Families that are extreme on Olson's measure of family cohesion and family adaptability, but whose members are satisfied with their perceived levels of cohesion and/or adaptability, will be similar to balanced families in terms of their adolescent member's identity status scale scores.

The relationship between the family satisfaction variable and the identity status and family cohesion and adaptability variables was initially examined using Pearson product-moment correlations. The results are summarized in Tables 8 and 9.

As Table 8 indicates, adolescent identity scores are not related to family members' levels of satisfaction with family cohesion and family adaptability. Mothers may tend to be slightly more satisfied with their families' cohesion and adaptability when their offspring have not formed a unique identity and are not engaged in adolescent identity exploration, but this relationship is very weak.

According to Table 9, family satisfaction is very strongly associated with family members' perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability. The stronger associations between satisfaction and cohesion, in comparison with satisfaction and adaptability, suggest that family cohesiveness has greater social desirability among family members than does family adaptability. Olson, McCubbin, et al.

Table 8

Correlations Between Identity Scores and Family Members' Satisfaction

	Identity Status			
Individual	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achieved
Fathers	-.05	.08	-.08	-.07
Mothers	.17*	-.01	.09	-.03
Adolescents	.11	-.09	-.16	-.01

* $p < .05$.

Table 9

Correlations Between Family Members' Cohesion and Adaptability Scores and Satisfaction Scores

Individual	Cohesion	Adaptability
Fathers	.54***	.18*
Mothers	.64***	.27**
Adolescents	.61***	.28**

* p <.05. **p <.005. ***p <.001.

(1985) also reported a stronger correlation between cohesion and social desirability ($r = .39$) than between adaptability and social desirability ($r = .00$).

I also examined the differences between the means on the diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achieved scales of the OM-EIS across the four levels of cohesion and adaptability for families scoring above the sample mean and for families scoring below the sample mean on the Family Satisfaction measure. The differences in mean scores are depicted in Figures 9 through 16. Figures 9 through 12 illustrate the mean identity scale scores for youths from more satisfied families (family score above the sample mean) and from less satisfied families (family score below the sample mean) across the four cohesion levels. Figures 13 through 16 illustrate the mean identity scale scores for youths from more satisfied and from less satisfied families across the four adaptability levels.

With respect to Figures 9, 10 11, and 12, because I found that there were no enmeshed families that scored low on the satisfaction measure in my sample, I combined the enmeshed and connected families. The reader should also note that the numbers of families in the various categories is quite varied. Whereas the variation in the numbers of families in each cohesion-satisfaction category is a reflection of the proportions of such family types in the population of families, the reader is advised to make note of the differences in cell sizes when examining Figures 9 through 12 as well as Figures 13 through 16. Some rather large differences in mean scores, which appear to be significantly

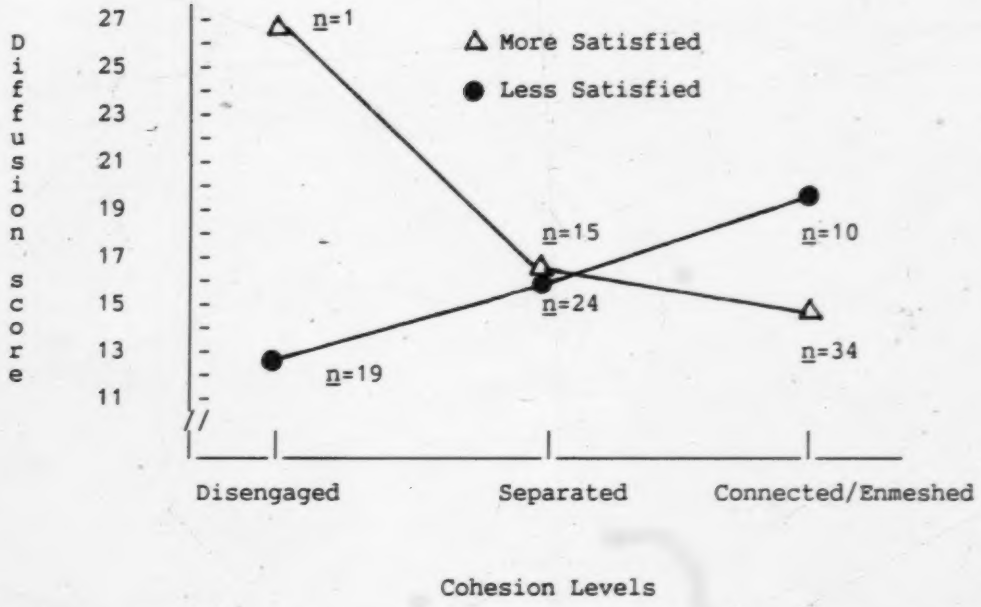
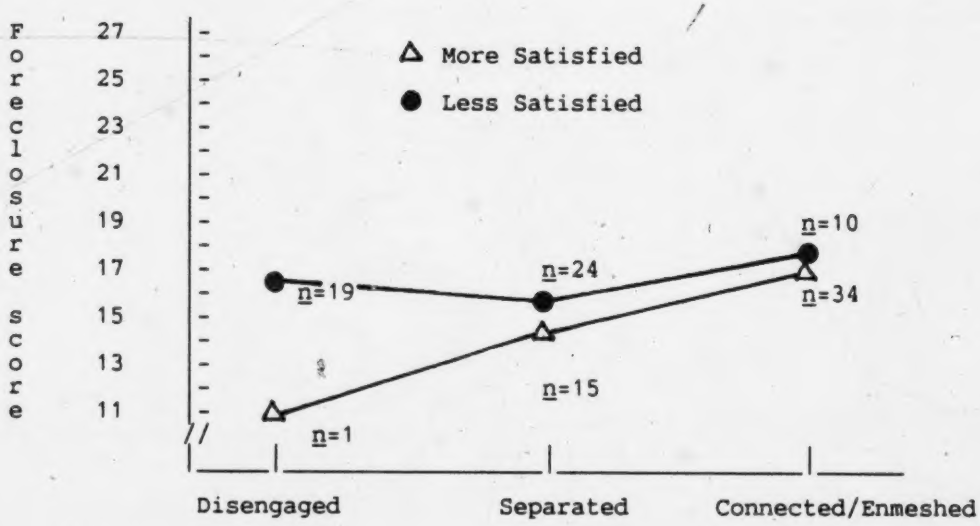


Figure 9. Youths' diffusion scores as a function of family cohesion and family satisfaction



Cohesion Levels

Figure 10. Youths' foreclosure scores as a function of family cohesion and family satisfaction

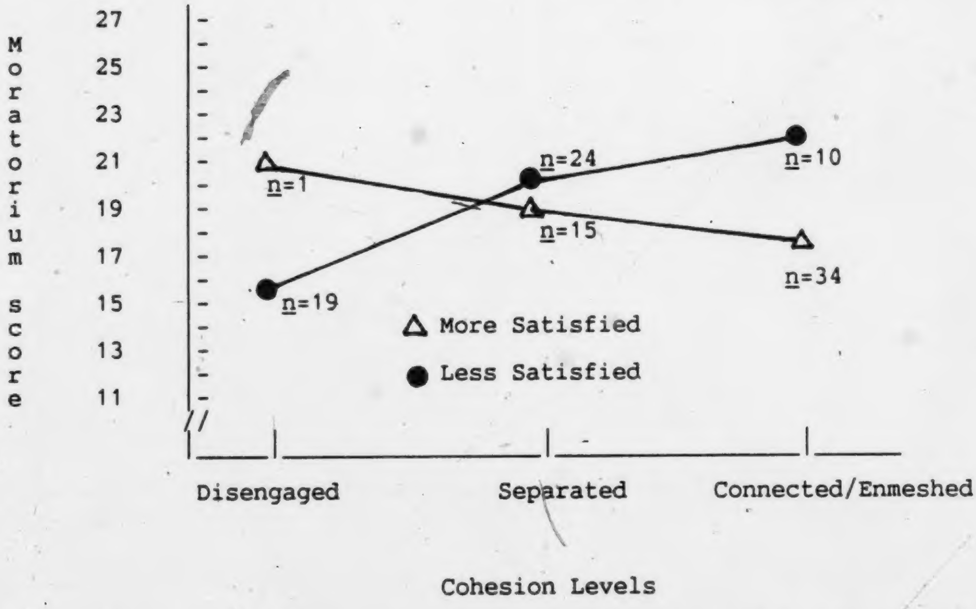


Figure 11. Youths' moratorium scores as a function of family cohesion and family satisfaction

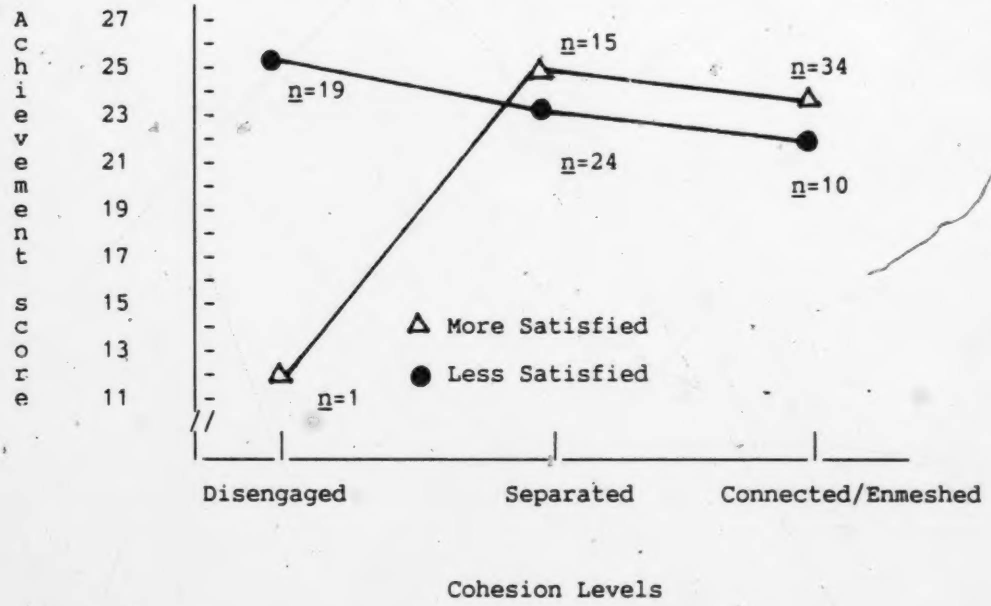


Figure 12. Youths' achievement scores as a function of family cohesion and family satisfaction

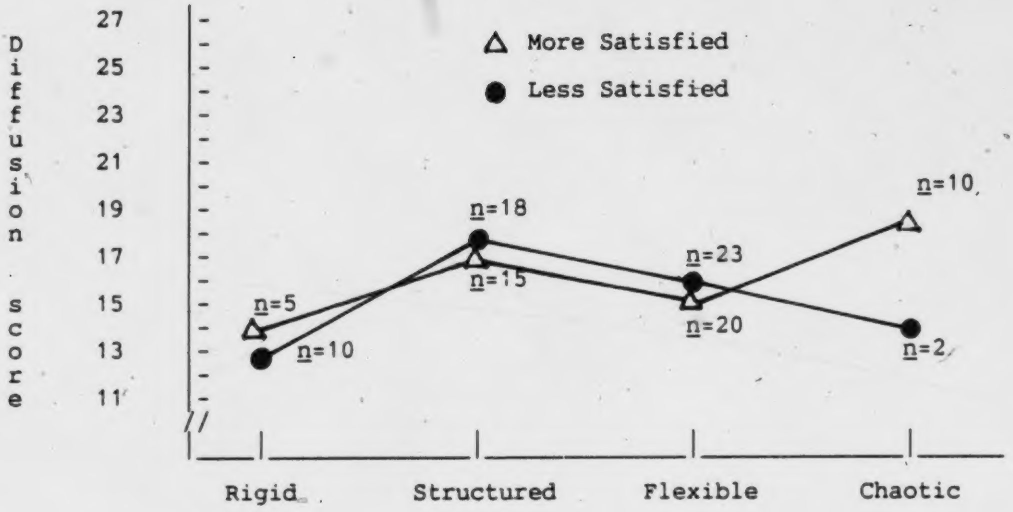
different from the other mean scores, occur in relation to family types that are represented by only one or two families.

The differences between the mean identity status scale scores depicted in Figures 9 through 16 were examined using two-way analyses of variance. This procedure was used to determine if there were significant interaction effects for cohesion, adaptability, and family satisfaction in relation to the differences between the mean identity scale scores. However, because of unequal and, in some cases, very small cell sizes, the results of this analysis must be interpreted very cautiously.

I compared the mean scores on each of the four identity scales for youths from more satisfied and less satisfied families across the three cohesion levels. I also compared the mean identity scale scores for youths from more satisfied and less satisfied families across the four adaptability levels. The results of these analyses are found in Tables A-13 through A-20, in Appendix A.

The two-way analyses of variance indicate that the family satisfaction measure may be a useful predictor of youth's moratorium scores, but not their diffusion, foreclosure, and achievement scores. Also regarding diffusion and achievement scores, the interaction effect of cohesion and satisfaction appears to be statistically significant ($\underline{p} < .01$). However, as I indicated above, this statistical analysis may be misleading because of the problem of small and unequal cell sizes. A visual examination of Figures 9 through 12 suggests that the interaction effect between cohesion and family satisfaction for diffusion and achievement scores, is likely due to the very high diffusion score and the very low achievement score obtained by the one youth from a more satisfied disengaged family. If several more youths from satisfied disengaged families had been included in my sample, either the interaction effect between cohesion and family satisfaction would disappear, or its statistical significance would be more strongly supported. On the basis of my data as depicted in Figures 9 through 12, I conclude that there is no significant interaction effect between cohesion and family satisfaction in relation to youths' identity scores. Consequently, it appears that my hypothesis that adolescents from satisfied extreme (disengaged and enmeshed) families would have identity scores that are similar to those obtained by adolescents from balanced families, and different from those obtained by adolescents from less satisfied families, was not supported.

Tables A-17 through A-20 indicate that there are no significant interaction effects between family adaptability and family satisfaction. As shown in Figures 13 to 16, adolescents' mean identity scale scores across the four adaptability levels are quite similar, whether they come from families that are more satisfied or less satisfied with their perceived adaptability. Contrary to my prediction, the mean identity status scale scores of youths from satisfied extreme families (rigid and chaotic) are not similar to the mean scores obtained by youths from families that are balanced on the adaptability dimension.



Adaptability Levels

Figure 13. Youths' diffusion scores as a function of family adaptability and family satisfaction

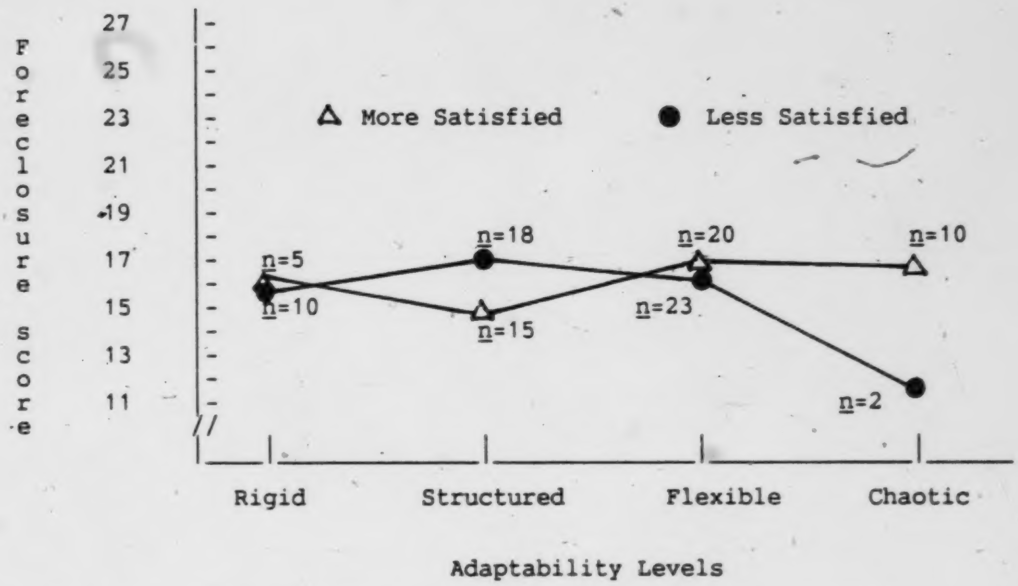


Figure 14. Youths' foreclosure scores as a function of family adaptability and family satisfaction

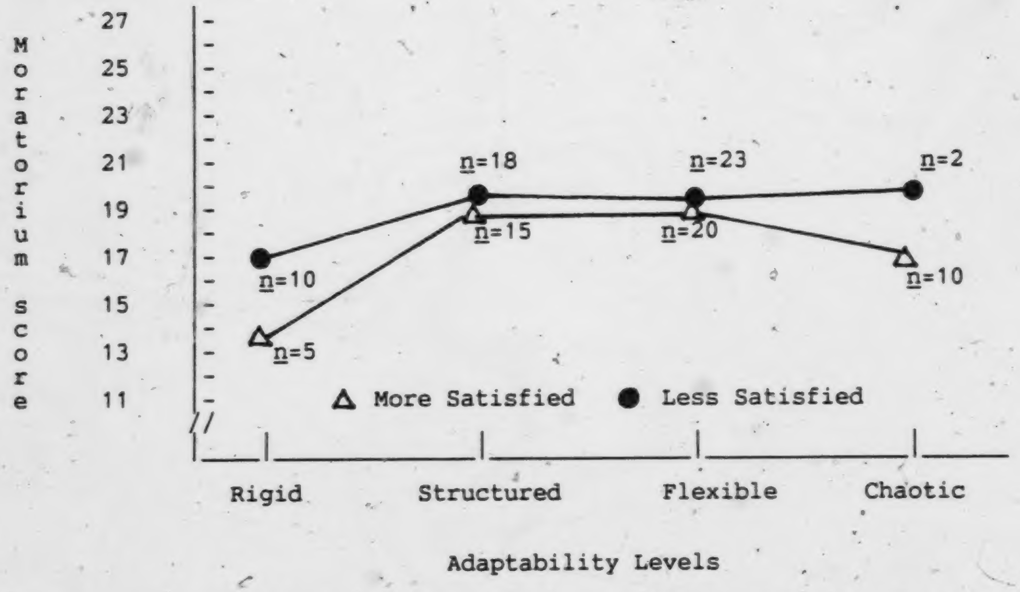


Figure 15. Youths' moratorium scores as a function of family adaptability and family satisfaction

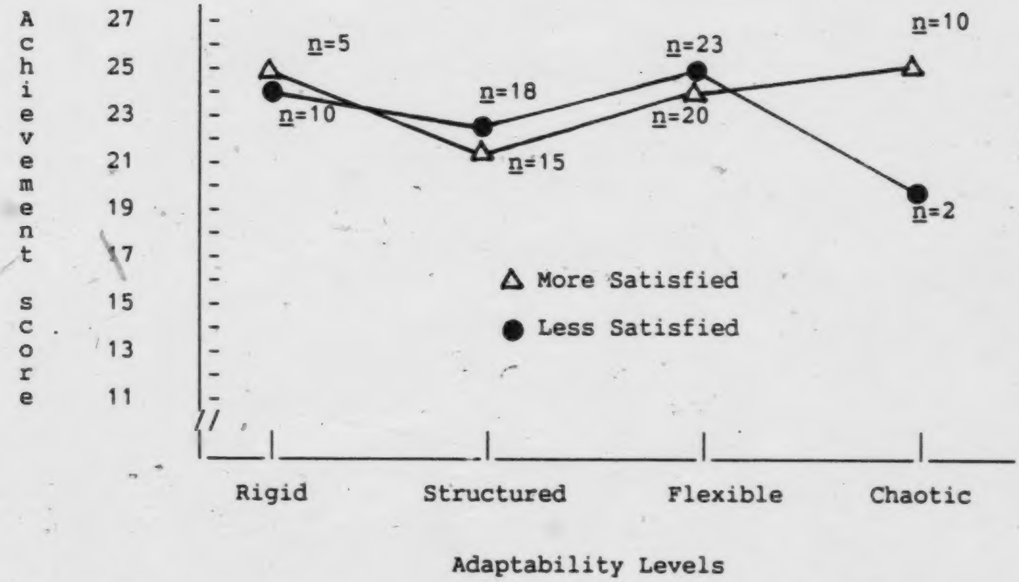


Figure 16. Youths' achievement scores as a function of family adaptability and family satisfaction

Hypothesis 4. Parent-Adolescent Stress and Family and Identity Variables

Youths in families with low levels of cohesion and/or low levels of adaptability will report more parent-adolescent stress that youths in families with high cohesion and/or adaptability. Correspondingly, adolescents with high moratorium and diffusion scores will report more parent-adolescent stress in comparison with youths scoring high on foreclosure or identity achievement.

The relationships between parent-adolescent stress and family cohesion and adaptability and between parent-adolescent stress and youths' identity scale scores were examined using Pearson product-moment correlations. I also calculated the correlation coefficients between parent-adolescent stress and family members' satisfaction scores.

As predicted, parent-adolescent stress was found to be significantly related to family cohesiveness (r = -.39, p <.001) but not to family adaptability (r = -.04, p>.05). Family shifts towards separation or disengagement in their emotional bonding are accompanied by more conflict between parents and late adolescents, but, contrary to my prediction, shifts in family power structure, relationship rules and roles, are not.

Parent-adolescent stress was also found to be significantly related to certain identity status scale scores: youths scoring high on diffusion (r = .13, p <.10) and, especially, youths scoring high on moratorium (r = .25, p <.01) tend to experience more conflict in their relations with their parents whereas youths scoring high on foreclosure ($r = .10$, $p > .10$) and identity achievement ($r = .05$, $p > .10$) do not. Likely because moratorium youths are exploring identity alternatives and may, therefore, question and challenge their parents' ideals and practices, they experience more parent-adolescent stress. Similarly, though not as strongly, diffusion youths may experience some parent-adolescent stress because they do not express much interest in their parents' (or others') values and are not actively engaged in making career choices. However, youths who are strongly identified with parental values (foreclosed) and those who have resolved their identity crisis by committing themselves to certain ideals (achieved), are not likely to experience as much conflict with their parents.

In families that are experiencing parent-adolescent stress, all members appear to be dissatisfied with their perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability. I found, as expected, significant negative correlations between parent-adolescent stress and fathers' satisfaction ($r = -.50$, $p < .001$), mothers' satisfaction ($r = -.37$, $p < .001$), and youths' satisfaction ($r = -.46$, $p < .001$).

Summary of Findings

In summary, it appears that my first two hypotheses regarding the relationship of family cohesion and adaptability to adolescent identity formation did not receive strong empirical support. Cohesion and adaptability were found to be related to some identity scale scores, but not always in the manner I had predicted.

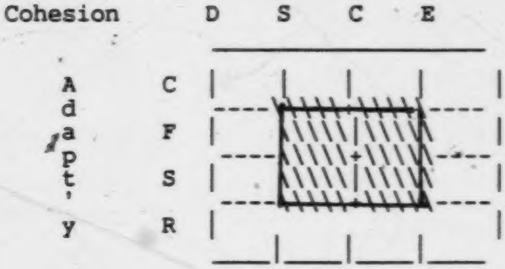
Balanced levels of family cohesion and adaptability appear to coincide with higher scores for youths on the identity diffusion and moratorium (uncommitted) scales of the OM-EIS. Thus, very similar family dynamics appear to be related to both the lack of concern for identity issues characteristic of youths who scored highest on the diffusion scale, and the active exploration of careers, beliefs, and values common to youths who scored highest on the moratorium scale.

Families with patterns of cohesion and adaptability that are very different from each other, and very different from the patterns that seem to coincide with high youth scores on diffusion and moratorium, appear to promote increased foreclosure and achieved scores on the OM-EIS. The identification with parental values characteristic of youths with high foreclosure scores may be somewhat enhanced in families that emphasize strong emotional bonding as well as greater flexibility in the family's power structure, relationship rules, and role relationships, although this pattern of family dynamics is certainly not the only one that supports foreclosure. The family type in which youths scored lowest on the foreclosure scale was the low cohesion, high adaptability type which, interestingly, had the strongest correlation with identity achievement scores. Youths scoring highest on the identity achieved scale, and who may, therefore, be more strongly committed to a set of ideals that they selected after examining the alternatives, appear to come mainly from families that are low in cohesion and high in adaptability, although some also come from markedly different families--high in cohesion and low in adaptability.

A summary of the differences I found in cohesion and adaptability levels for families of adolescents scoring highest on the four identity scales of the OM-EIS is provided in Figure 17. The captions below each circumplex model diagram in Figure 17 summarize my findings regarding the family types that correspond to adolescents scoring highest on the four identity scales. To compare the results of my study with my hypotheses regarding family dynamics and identity formation, Figure 17 should be compared with Figure 2 in chapter 2 which illustrates the family cohesion and adaptability changes that I predicted would accompany the four identity statuses.

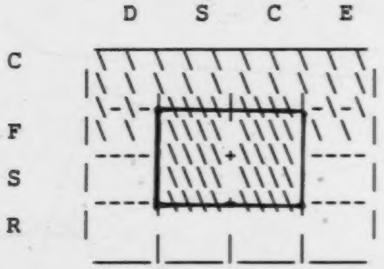
Based on Olson's hypothesis about the effect of family satisfaction on family cohesion and adaptability, I predicted that families that are extreme on the cohesion and adaptability dimensions would function like balanced families if they are satisfied with their (extreme) family dynamics. My data did not support this hypothesis. Family satisfaction may be related to youths' moratorium scores, but, according to my data, it is not related to their diffusion, foreclosure, and achievement scores.

As I indicated earlier, the unequal and, in some cases, small cell sizes in my sample of family types made statistical analysis difficult, and the analysis I did perform, must be treated with caution. Visual inspection of the figures depicting differences in identity mean scores across the cohesion and adaptability levels, for adolescents from more satisfied versus less satisfied families, indicates that there are no significant differences that can be



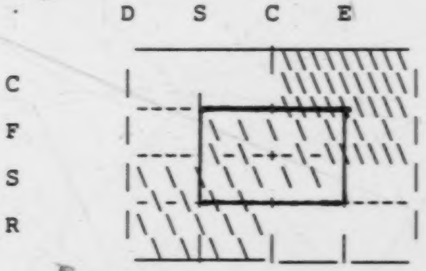
- exploration of and commitment to identity issues are, presumably, not yet significant individual or family development concerns

Pre-Launching Stage (early adolescent Diffusion)



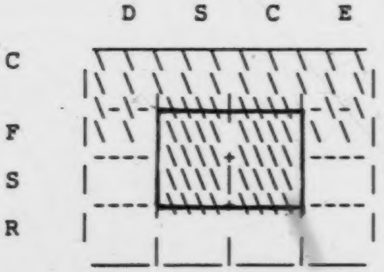
Late Adolescent Diffusion

- Families are balanced on both cohesion and adaptability although some families have relatively high adaptability



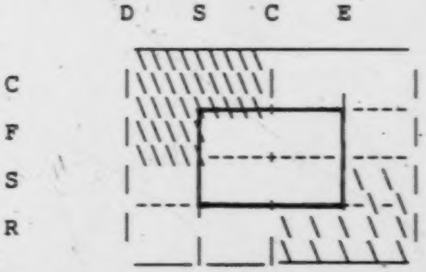
Late Adolescent Foreclosure

- Most families have moderate to high cohesion and adaptability although several families are low on both cohesion and adapt'y.



Late Adolescent Moratorium

- Families are balanced on both cohesion and adaptability although some families have relatively high adaptability



Late Adol. Identity Achievement

- Most families have low cohesion and high adaptability although some have high cohesion and low adaptability.

Figure 17. Actual family cohesion and adaptability patterns corresponding to late adolescent identity formation stages

attributed to the effect of family satisfaction or to an interaction between satisfaction and either cohesion or adaptability. Only with very small sample sizes (n=1 and n=2) were the differences between the mean scores notable and these differences may be attributed to the very small n's.

My fourth hypothesis deals with the amount of conflict or stress that exists between parents and their late adolescent children. I predicted that there would be more parent-adolescent stress in disengaged and rigid families and in families where adolescents were experiencing an identity crisis (moratorium) or were unconcerned about identity issues (diffusion). I found that the families of adolescents who reported relatively high levels of parent-adolescent stress had significantly lower scores on family cohesion but not on family adaptability. I also found that youths scoring high on diffusion and/or on moratorium reported higher levels of parent-adolescent stress, as predicted. Thus, it appears that families that are not strongly emotionally bonded and whose adolescents are either not interested in career and lifestyle goals or are actively exploring alternative career and lifestyle goals, are likely to experience a lot of conflict. Families that are more strongly emotionally bonded and whose adolescents are committed to a career and/or a set of lifestyle goals, which may or may not be similar to those of their parents, appear to experience less stress.

In this chapter, I presented the results of my exploration of the relationships between adolescent identity status and family cohesion, family adaptability, family satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability, and parent-adolescent stress. In the following chapter, I will discuss these results in regard to their theoretical and practical implications, and make some suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

In this chapter, I will evaluate the results of my study in relation to my hypotheses; I will discuss the contribution my study makes to identity status theory and research, specifically to the understanding of individual development in the context of the family; and I will indicate how my study relates to Olson's theoretical model of family functioning. I will then discuss the research implications of my study and will provide suggestions for further research. The implications of my study for practitioners will also be discussed.

Evaluation of Results

Summary of Results

In general, while some of the relationships I found between adolescent identity scale scores and family cohesion, family adaptability, and family satisfaction did not reach statistical significance, my data suggested three, unique family styles that appeared to have some relation to the four identity status scale scores. In comparison with other family types, balanced families--with moderate levels of both cohesion and adaptability--appear to be somewhat more conducive to (or more tolerate of) adolescents lack of commitment to an identity, whether the youth is experiencing identity diffusion or an identity crisis (moratorium). Although high identity foreclosure and identity achievement scores indicate that the youth has made a commitment to a set of beliefs and ideals, the family patterns that appear to coincide with these identity scores are quite different. Low cohesion and high adaptability are more conducive to increased identity achievement scores, whereas this family pattern is the least likely to coincide with higher foreclosure scores.

Although some of my hypotheses regarding the relationships between late adolescent identity and family cohesion and adaptability were not supported by my results, I found some interesting trends in these relationships. According to my results, family adaptability is more useful than family cohesion in predicting adolescent identity scores. I also found that moratorium scores are more dependent and foreclosure scores are less dependent than other identity scores, on cohesion and adaptability. Olson's hypothesis regarding the interactive effect between family satisfaction and perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability was not supported by my data although the expected increase in parent-adolescent conflict in families where youths are engaged in an identity crisis and where youths are not interested in identity issues, was demonstrated by my study.

I proposed a model of family process changes that coincide with adolescent identity changes (see Figure 2 in Chapter 2). My model suggests that balanced families shift their cohesion and adaptability to accommodate and give direction to the individual developmental changes of late adolescent family members.

In my model, I view a family shift towards increased cohesion as likely to occur in families whose adolescent members strongly identify with their parents' values and beliefs (foreclosure status). Although my research methodology did not allow me to examine family or individual developmental changes or 'shifts' over time, my data indicated that neither cohesion nor adaptability were significantly related to youths' foreclosure scores.

My model also proposes that some balanced families will shift their adaptability towards more rigid or structured role relationships and relationship rules as a means of delaying the identity explorations and commitments of late adolescents. Again, whereas I did not obtain data about family shifts, my data suggested that, contrary to my expectations, most families of youths who scored high on diffusion were balanced and some families had relatively high (rather than low) levels of adaptability. The statistical analysis I performed showed this result to be significant at the .05 level.

Another proposition of my model is that balanced families will reduce their cohesion and increase their adaptability to promote or support late adolescent identity exploration (moratorium). What I found was that families that are balanced, particularly on the cohesion dimension, have adolescents with relatively high moratorium scores. This result was also significant at the .05 level.

With respect to adolescent identity achievement, my model assumes that late adolescents who have formed a unique identity after a time of exploring alternatives, will be engaged in a process of renegotiating family rules, roles, boundaries, and emotional bonds, that will permit them to relate to their parents on more equal terms. I assumed that such a renegotiation process would permit parents and identity achieved adolescents to shift their cohesion and adaptability to more balanced levels. However, I found that most families of youths that scored high on the identity achievement scale were separated or disengaged on the cohesion dimension, and flexible or chaotic on the adaptability dimension. The relationship between family adaptability and adolescent achievement scores was significant at the .05 level.

In addition to my hypotheses concerning the relationships between adolescent identity scores and family cohesion and adaptability, my model proposes that families that function at extreme levels of cohesion and adaptability, and whose members are satisfied with this level of functioning, are similar to balanced families. My study did not support this hypothesis.

I also proposed that families with youths scoring high on the diffusion and moratorium scales of the OM-EIS, and families that score low on cohesion and/or adaptability, would experience a lot of parent-adolescent conflict. In general, my study supported this hypothesis except for low levels of family adaptability. Therefore, my study indicates that family members that perceive themselves as being strongly emotionally bonded and flexible with respect to family relationship rules and role relationships, are more satisfied and experience less stress than members of other family types. Also, families whose adolescent members have made an identity commitment, experience less stress in parent-adolescent relationships than families of youths who are either not interested in identity issues or are exploring alternative ideals.

In the next section of the chapter, I will evaluate the results of my study in regard to the contribution they make to the theory of adolescent identity formation and to Olson's circumplex model of marital and family functioning.

Contributions to Identity Theory and Family Systems Theory

Identity theory. Marcia's identity status paradigm suggests that each of the four identity statuses has a number of attitudes, personality characteristics, interest patterns, and behaviours that are unique to it. My study contributed support for Marcia's identity status paradigm by demonstrating that there are also a number of qualitatively different family variables that are characteristic of youths with high scores on at least three of the identity scales. In my study, youths with high diffusion and moratorium scores appear to share very similar family correlates, either because they require very similar family dynamics, or because the measure used to assess identity status does not adequately distinguish between these two statuses. However, youths with high foreclosure and identity achieved scores appear to come from families with cohesion and adaptability patterns that are uniquely different from each other and from the family pattern that is more common to youths with high diffusion and moratorium scores.

Erikson theorized that an adolescent's social (especially family) context is an important variable in identity formation, although he attributed a rather passive role to the family. Erikson suggested that an adolescent must separate from the family in order for identity exploration to proceed. Other developmental theorists since Erikson, such as Richard M. Lerner and Patricia Minuchin, have argued that the family plays a more active, interactional role in individual development. Lerner (1985) suggests that the reactions of family members to an adolescent's psychological changes function as feedback to the adolescent, and, in circular fashion, give shape to the adolescent's further psychological development. In this way, according to Lerner, adolescents influence the context that influences their further development. Similarly, P. Minuchin (1985) posits that the individual in the family is a powerful contributor to the organized homeostatic and morphogenic family patterns that regulate individual behaviour and development.

There are very few studies reported in the research literature that have attempted to examine identity formation from a family systems perspective. My study makes a contribution to the theoretical position that identity formation occurs within a family context by demonstrating that identity formation is related to family functioning, specifically family cohesion and family adaptability, as well as the degree of conflict between parents and late adolescents. What my study did not do is provide definitive answers about the nature of the relationship between these family process variables and adolescent identity formation.

Whereas several studies, including Campbell, Adams, and Dobson (1984), and Watson and Protinsky (1988), found significant relationships between various family variables and adolescent foreclosure status, in my study, foreclosure scores were not significantly related to the family cohesion, adaptability, or satisfaction variables. Rather, I found youths' moratorium scores to be related to both family cohesion and family adaptability, and youths' diffusion and achievement scores to be related to family adaptability.

My findings, for youths scoring high on foreclosure and identity achievement, are similar to those reported by Marcia (1980) who found that foreclosed adolescents typically reported their parents as being accepting and encouraging (moderate to high cohesion) while achieved youths reported positive but moderately ambivalent (separated) relations with their parents. However, contrary to my results, Marcia reported identity diffused adolescents to be detached from their parents (disengaged). My findings are also unlike those of Conger (1973), Douvan and Adelson (1966) and LaVoie (1976) who found that identity diffused adolescents typically reported their parents to be restrictive (low adaptability). However, their findings for foreclosed adolescents are similar to mine in that they reported the parents of such youths to be excessively permissive (high adaptability). I also found that, as expected, youths scoring high on diffusion and moratorium, experience more conflict with their parents than foreclosed and achieved youths.

In summary, my study lends support to Grotevant's view that adolescent identities are developed in the context of the family's manoeuvring between individuality and connectedness--concepts regarding family communications that overlap with and facilitate Olson's family cohesion and family adaptability dimensions of family functioning. In my study, the family's manoeuvring between various levels of cohesion and adaptability appear to be related to adolescent family members' identity formation. Therefore, my study also supports the views of Sabatelli and Mazor who argued that differentiation--the process whereby an individual separates from his relational context (usually the family)--encourages a pattern of cohesion and adaptability, and that individual identity change occurs in well-differentiated (balanced) family systems while identity change is delayed in poorly-differentiated (enmeshed) family systems that emphasize fusion.

Olson's circumplex model of family functioning. Olson defined family adaptability as "the ability of a marital/family system to change its power structure, role relationships, and relationship rules in response to situational and developmental stress" (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983, p. 62). The focus of my study is adolescent identity change in the context of the family and I found that family adaptability is significantly related to adolescents' identity diffusion and achievement scores. From my data, it also appears that midrange to high levels of adaptability are supportive of adolescent identity exploration (moratorium). Therefore, my study lends support to the validity of the family adaptability construct.

Olson has developed six hypotheses from his model of marital and family functioning, three of which are relevant to my study. Olson's first hypothesis suggests that "couples/families with balanced (two central levels) cohesion and adaptability will generally function more adequately across the family life cycle than will those at the extremes of these dimensions" and his second hypothesis states that "balanced families have larger behavioural repertoires and are more able to change compared to extreme families" (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983, p. 66). In my study, adolescents from balanced families had the highest moratorium scores and their families may, therefore, be best able to deal with the conflict and stress created by their adolescents' identity explorations. Adolescents from balanced families also had relatively high diffusion and foreclosure scores, an indication that they, more than other family types and especially more than families with low levels of adaptability, can accommodate a variety of adolescent identity patterns.

Olson's third hypothesis states "If the normative expectations of a couple or family support behaviours on one or both extremes of the circumplex dimensions, it will function well as long as all family members accept these expectations" (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983, pp. 66-67). My study did not support this hypothesis as I found no significant differences in youths' identity scores in families that are more satisfied as opposed to less satisfied with extreme levels of cohesion and adaptability.

Olson's fourth and fifth hypotheses relate to family communication skills which were not assessed in my study. The sixth hypothesis derived from Olson's circumplex model states that "to deal with situational stress and developmental changes across the life cycle, Balanced families will change their cohesion and adaptability whereas Extreme families will resist change over time" (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983, p. 68). Because my study was not a longitudinal one, family and individual changes over time were not identified. Also, because the research literature indicates that there is disagreement concerning the developmental nature of the four identity statuses, it cannot be argued that the adolescents scoring high on identity achievement were, at some earlier time, like the adolescents now scoring high on moratorium, or that adolescents scoring high on foreclosure were previously like current adolescents with high scores on diffusion. Therefore, I am unable to speculate about possible shifts in family functioning that correspond to adolescents' changing identity statuses.

There are differences of opinion regarding the view of a developmental continuum with respect to adolescent identity formation. In general, the four identity statuses are viewed as unique identity styles, each with its own set of personality, attitude, and relational characteristics, rather than stages in a linear progression from diffusion to achievement. Some identity styles have been found to be more characteristic of female adolescents and other styles have been found to be more characteristic of male adolescents. Although Olson's circumplex model proposes a morphogenic process whereby balanced families shift their cohesion and adaptability in response to changing developmental needs of individual members, my study does not support the view of a family developmental continuum corresponding to the various identity statuses. Perhaps, rather than families shifting their cohesion and adaptability over time to coincide with, promote, and respond to individual changes in identity forming behaviours, families may adopt a unique, characteristic, homeostatic style that helps determine the identity status of late adolescents. Thus, it may be that the system-maintaining processes in families are more conducive to identity formation than the system-changing processes. Obviously, more study is needed to evaluate the contributions made by family morphogenic and family homeostatic processes to adolescent identity formation.

In summary, my study supports Marcia's identity status paradigm, underscores the importance of understanding adolescent identity formation in the context of the significant family relationships of which the adolescent is a part, and demonstrates some family patterns that may enhance identity formation. In addition, my study provides support for Olson's circumplex model of family functioning and for three of the hypotheses derived from Olson's model.

In the next section of the chapter, I will discuss the implications of my study for adolescent identity research and will make recommendations for further research. Following this, I will offer some suggestions for practitioners who work with late adolescents and their families.

Research Implications

Identity Status Research with the OM-EIS

The Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS) (Adams, Shea, &

Fitch, 1979) is a useful tool to assess factors relevant to late adolescents' identity formation. However, in my view, the OM-EIS has a number of weaknesses that should be addressed if the instrument is to find continued use in identity status research. The weaknesses of the OM-EIS include the difficulty in properly categorizing those adolescents whose scores on the four identity scales do not allow them to be placed in one of the four statuses, the strong, positive correlation between diffusion and moratorium scores, and the apparent inability of the OM-EIS to discriminate between adolescents with positive, prosocial identities and those with negative, antisocial identities. In the next paragraphs I will discuss these weaknesses and their impact on my study, and will make some suggestions for needed improvements in the OM-EIS.

The practice of including in the moratorium status, those adolescents whose scores on the four scales fall below the cut-off scores and who, therefore, cannot be placed in one of the other statuses, is, in my opinion, not satisfactory. Adams has recommended that it may be appropriate to treat these adolescents as a separate group, rather than simply including them in the moratorium status (Grotevant & Adams, 1984). Adams, Shea, and Fitch (1979) have also placed individuals with more than one score above the cut-off in transition statuses, which they subsequently amalgamated with the four defined statuses. In my view, this procedure is also inadequate. It appears that youths with all four identity scale scores below the cut-offs, and those with more than one score above the cut-offs, are unique and, for this reason, should be studied as separate groups, at least until it has been adequately demonstrated that they are not distinct from youths in one or other of the four defined statuses. For these reasons, and because statistical information is lost when continuous variables are partitioned into categorical variables or statuses, I decided to use the identity scale scores rather than the identity statuses as the dependent variables in my study.

The strong, positive correlation between my subjects' diffusion and moratorium scores has also been reported by Grotevant and Adams (1984). It appears that the OM-EIS does not satisfactorily discriminate between the identity explorations of moratorium youths and the absence of such explorations in diffused youths. For this reason, I was unable to determine if the similarity in family patterns of youths who scored high on the diffusion and moratorium scales of the OM-EIS was because very similar family patterns promote both diffusion and moratorium, or if a large number of youths who scored high on diffusion also scored high on moratorium. Clearly, the ability to more adequately discriminate between diffusion and moratorium scores on the OM-EIS is needed.

Following Erikson's view that the identity adopted by adolescents may be positive and prosocial or negative and antisocial, Marcia (1980) argued that there are both positive as well as negative aspects to the diffusion, foreclosure, and moratorium statuses. Diffused youths may enjoy a positive, rather carefree, playful, independent attitude that neither threatens nor challenges their parents, teachers, or others, or they may be negative, regressive, and avoidant, showing callous disregard for social values and ideals. Similarly, foreclosed youths may identify with the positive, socially accepted values of their parents, or they may adopt the negative, antisocial values of a delinquent peer group. Moratorium youths may also engage in a sensitive questioning of social norms and practises, or challenge and defy the social order. These markedly different styles of diffusion, foreclosure, and moratorium may explain the fact that, in my study, youths scoring high on diffusion, moratorium, and, especially on foreclosure and achievement, come from rather widely different, sometimes opposite, family types. Unfortunately, because the OM-EIS does not distinguish those whose identity is positive and prosocial from those whose identity is negative and antisocial, this hypothesis cannot be examined. Further identity research using the OM-EIS, or other methods of assessing identity status, would do well to examine the different response patterns, and subsequent identity status categorizations, of prosocial and of antisocial adolescents.

The Developmental Nature of Identity Formation

As I indicated earlier, there is no strong support for a developmental continuum among the identity statuses. Because my study obtained a single 'snapshot' of late adolescents and their families, I could not identify any developmental shifts in family functioning that may precede or accompany changes in adolescent identity status. Longitudinal studies are needed to determine the various courses of identity development, in males and females, from early adolescence to young adulthood. Similarly, longitudinal studies are needed to examine the family's morphogenesis as it responds to the situational stress created by its individual family members' developmental changes.

Gender Differences in Identity Formation

A number of studies, including those by Grotevant (1983; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986) have found the identity development of males to be different from that of females. Male identity, according to Grotevant and echoed by Gilligan (1982), emphasizes themes of separateness and autonomy and, thus, follows the process of identity formation hypothesized by Erikson more closely than does the identity formation process of females, which places greater emphasis on connectedness and attachment. In my study, the identity scores of males, as well as their scores on the other variables measured, were not significantly different from those of females, suggesting that, in my sample at least, male and female identity formation are not uniquely different processes. Thus, my study supports the findings of Rogow, Marcia, and Slugoski (1983), Ginsburg and Orlofsky (1981), and others, and calls into question the notion of a markedly different identity process for male and female adolescents. Clearly, the question of gender differences in identity formation needs to be more carefully examined in future studies.

In addition to the indications that adolescent identity formation may differ for males and females, some studies have shown that the parental correlates of identity status are different for same, as opposed to opposite sex parents. For example, Matteson (1974) found that foreclosed sons described their fathers as dominating, coercive, and likely to discourage emotional expression while foreclosed daughters described their fathers as supportive and encouraging. After reviewing a number of similar studies, Marcia suggested that mothers are more important than fathers to daughters' identity, while fathers are more important than mothers to sons' identity (1980). Although I chose to examine the relationships between adolescent identity scores and family scores, rather than individual members' scores on the various family variables, on these variables, my data can be further examined by multiple regression analysis to study the relationships between sons' and daughters' identity scores and mothers' and fathers' perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability and mothers' and fathers' satisfaction with these levels of cohesion and adaptability.

The Family Context of Identity Formation

Most earlier studies of the family correlates of adolescent identity formation examined data concerning adolescent-parent relationships, former child-rearing practises, and other family characteristics from the perspective of the adolescent alone. Most of the rather small number of studies that have incorporated parental perceptions of the family have examined family communication patterns. My study is one of very few that combined the perceptions of adolescents and parents about family process variables. In my view, much research attention is needed to identify the antecedent family variables that promote both healthy and disturbed adolescent identity formation. Although my study was inconclusive in this respect, I believe that I have shown that studying identity formation in the context of the family is a worthwhile and necessary endeavour.

Olson's FACES III and Family Satisfaction measures appear to be useful instruments for evaluating family variables that are relevant to adolescent psychosocial development. However, on the basis of my study, it appears that family cohesion and adaptability and family satisfaction do not sufficiently capture the essence of all those family processes that, presumably, either enhance or interfere with late adolescent identity formation. Further study is needed to identify the homeostatic and morphogenic processes at work within family systems that are related to the process of adolescent identity formation.

A number of additional areas of potentially useful research regarding the family context of adolescent identity formation are suggested by my study. Further examination of the relationships between identity status and family process variables is encouraged. In my view, in addition to the variety of cohesion and adaptability styles in families, there may be culturally conditioned beliefs and practises in families that exert a powerful influence on the identity styles of adolescents. Also, because identity formation incorporates career, political, and religious issues, I suggest that studies examining the relationships between adolescent career identity and parents' education and occupation, between adolescent political identity and parents' political activity and orientation, and between adolescent religious identity and parents' religious beliefs and practises, would be useful.

Another area of useful study, in my view, is the identity formation of youths who, for a variety of reasons, leave home and separate from their parents at a relatively young age, or who remain at home and depend on their parents for a relatively long time. Longitudinal studies of the family variables involved in the home-leaving and identity formation processes are likely to be most useful in such cases.

Because several studies have shown that mothers play a more significant role than fathers in daughters' identity development, and that fathers play a more significant role than mothers in sons' identity development, another area of useful study is the identity development of sons in father-absent homes and of daughters in mother-absent homes. Both longitudinal and cross-sectional research designs would be useful in such studies.

Since 1977, when Munro and Adams showed that identity formation in college and in working youth may not be parallel processes, little research attention has been focused on working youths. Almost all the studies cited in the literature have used high school or college student subjects. I was also unsuccessful in recruiting working youths for my study. Therefore, another area of potentially useful research is the identity statuses and their personality, attitudinal, and familial correlates, of working youths.

In addition to the contribution my study makes to the theoretical and research literature on adolescent identity formation, I believe that my study has some important implications for practitioners, especially for those who work with late adolescents and/or their families. In the next section of the chapter I will discuss what I see as the practical applications of my study.

Implications for Practitioners

Teachers, counsellors, ministers, youth workers, and other professionals who work with late adolescents in community counselling agencies, schools, colleges, universities, career placement services, and churches, would be well advised to consider that late adolescent identity formation is an individual as well as a family and societal issue. Identities may be prosocial and pro-family, or antisocial and anti-family. Similarly, families may encourage and support their late adolescent members' identity explorations and commitments, or they may attempt to delay or direct their explorations and commitments.

Teachers and college or university professors, as well as guidance counsellors, church pastors, and youth workers should be aware of and sensitive to the fact that many of the young people they work with are struggling with serious personal identity concerns as well as identity-related family issues. Some youths may be experiencing strong pressures to deny their own interests in order to conform to parental or peer group expectations. Other youths may be finding the lack of parental, family or peer support the major issue in their efforts to establish their own goals and ideals. Still other youths may be struggling with the loss of emotional bonding with their parents and former friends, which has accompanied their identity achievement. However, some young people may express little interest in career and ideological issues or may be strong, willing advocates of their parents' expectations and values.

All of these identity-related behaviours, attitudes, and concerns are significant in relation to how students deal with the many personal and social issues that are discussed in classrooms and about which such students may be required to write research papers. Certain classroom assignments, for example, and certain issues brought out in the counselling office, will have a great deal of meaning, and will be accompanied by a number of family directives and expectations, for some adolescents, but not for others.

The results of my study suggest that practitioners should take a family perspective when helping adolescents address and deal with career, lifestyle, and ethical issues, whether in a classroom, counselling, church, or other social setting. Taking a family perspective means that one needs to be aware of and to deal, not only with the personal issues the youth is facing, but also with the family context which gives meaning to these personal issues. Thus, the practitioner must consider the impact that the youth's identity-related issues have on the youth's family, and the consequences of the family's reactions for the youth.

Youths, and the families of youths who have made a commitment to a career plan and/or a set of beliefs and values, do not appear likely to seek counselling for identity- or family-related issues because there is little conflict between parents and youths, and because they are, generally, satisfied with their current family dynamics, even though several such families are at extreme levels of cohesion and/or adaptability. According to Olson, extreme families tend to function well as long as all family members are satisfied with their cohesion and adaptability levels.

My study indicates that families that are not strongly cohesive and that have late adolescent members who are either not interested in career goals, religious values, and political ideals (diffusion), or are actively exploring alternate goals, values, and ideals (moratorium), are likely to experience a lot of conflict. However, because such families tend to be balanced or, generally well-functioning, therapy aimed at helping such families make significant shifts in their structure and relational dynamics may not be appropriate. Rather, therapy designed to improve the family communication skills or to educate the parents and youths about the vicissitudes of the identity exploration process may be necessary.

In providing such therapy for families and youths at the late adolescent and identity forming stages of the family and individual developmental cycles, therapists should be aware of the content, as well as the relational components of the family's communications--the way family members punctuate or organize the series of messages exchanged between them, and the congruence or lack of congruence between the verbal and the non-verbal messages exchanged. As

Powers, Hauser, Schwatz, Noam, and Jacobson (1983) and Cooper, Grotevant, and Condon (1983) have demonstrate, cognitively stimulating communications in which participants share perspectives and challenge each other's beliefs, in a context of sensitivity and respect, support and validation, combined with the expression of appropriate affect, all enhance adolescents' identity development.

It may also be appropriate and necessary for the therapist to educate family members about adolescence, identity exploration, and family relational dynamics in order that family members can change their stereotyped beliefs about other family members--parental beliefs about their late adolescent children, and late adolescents' beliefs about their parents--in order for them to learn alternative and more effective communication behaviours. Therapists may also help families and youths learn to avoid using confused, paradoxical, double-binding, and attacking communications, and to use communications that enhance understanding, support, and respect for their own and others' points of view, while asserting their own separateness and uniqueness (Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983). In these ways, families may effectively differentiate, and late adolescents may individuate to the degree necessary for them to deal with their conflicting attitudes, alternate points of view, and different ideologies in productive, healthy, identity-enhancing ways.

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of my study was to examine the hypothesized relationships between adolescent identity status and the family process variables of family cohesion and family adaptability, as well as family satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability, and parent-adolescent stress. I found that family cohesion level is a significant predictor of youths' moratorium scores, and that family adaptability can predict youths' diffusion and achievement scores. No significant interaction effects between cohesion and adaptability were found but certain family types, differing in levels of cohesion and adaptability, are more likely than others to promote adolescent identity diffusion, moratorium, and achievement. Only the foreclosure status is unaffected by family cohesion and adaptability. I also found that family members' satisfaction with family functioning was unrelated to youths' identity scores and that families of diffused and moratorium youths are likely to experience more conflict than families of foreclosed and achieved youths.

The Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS) is a useful instrument for identifying variables relevant to adolescent identity formation, but it has some weaknesses that need to be addressed. Specifically, the OM-EIS does not adequately distinguish between youths in the diffusion and moratorium statuses, does not provide a useful method for dealing with youths who do not fit the criteria for placement in one of the four identity statuses, and does not address the pro-social versus anti-social patterns of identity formation.

Olson's circumplex model of family functioning is a useful theoretical model for conceptualizing family homeostatic and morphogenic processes that, in my view, are relevant to adolescent identity formation. However, my results indicate that variations in family cohesion and family adaptability, together with family members' satisfaction with their cohesion and adaptability levels, do not adequately describe the family context of adolescent identity formation. Therefore, further research is needed to examine the important links between identity and family processes.

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ADOLESCENT IDENTITY FORMATION: THE ROLES OF FAMILY COHESION AND ADAPTABILITY

BY

JOHN SNEEP ©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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IN
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Adolescent Identity Formation: The Roles of Family Cohesion and Adaptability, submitted by John Sneep in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Counselling Psychology.

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External Examiner

Date September 11, 1989

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to Dan, Carla, and Jeff, each actively engaged in the process of identity formation; and to Eileen, who, with me, is striving to let them do so.

Abstract

In forming a sense of personal identity, adolescents establish career, political, and religious ideals. Four identity statuses have been defined: diffused adolescents avoid identity issues, foreclosed adolescents identify with parent or peer ideals, moratorium adolescents explore alternative ideals, and identity achieved adolescents commit themselves to a set of ideals after exploring alternatives. The purpose of this study was to examine the family context of late adolescent identity development. I proposed that different levels of family cohesion (emotional bonding) and family adaptability (ability to change), as well as the degree of satisfaction with family functioning, and the amount of parent-adolescent stress, were related to adolescents' identity statuses. Thirty-one males and 88 females between 17 and 20 years of age completed the Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS), the Adolescent-Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (A-FILE), and a demographic questionnaire. The adolescents and their parents--104 mothers and 87 fathers--completed the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES III) and the Family Satisfaction scale. Subjects were either in high school or taking first-year college or university classes. Seventy-five of the 119 adolescents were living at home. The relationships between family cohesion and youths' moratorium scores (F [3, 101] = 3.84, p <.02), and between family adaptability and youths' diffusion (F [3, 101] = 3.52, p <.02) and achieved (F [3, 101] = 2.78, p <.05) scores were significant. Youths' foreclosure scores were unaffected by cohesion and adaptability. Diffusion and moratorium scores were lowest among youths from families with low cohesion (disengagement) and low adaptability (rigidity). Contrary to predictions, no significant relationships between family satisfaction and other family or identity variables were found. Increased levels of parent-adolescent stress were found in families with low cohesion (r = -.39, p <.001) and in families with adolescents scoring high on moratorium (r = .25, p <.01). These findings add to the literature on the family context of identity development and have important implications for identity researchers. Further research is needed to identify the complex family processes that are significant to late adolescent identity development. Practitioners are also advised to consider the important role of the family in their work with late adolescents.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

According to Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, identity formation is the process whereby adolescents establish a sense of their own uniqueness by adopting a set of career, religious, and political ideals. The adolescent's social context, especially the family, is viewed by Erikson and others as being significant to the process of identity development. Parents may be interested in knowing how best to influence and not interfere in the lifestyle choices their adolescent offspring make. Adolescents, particularly late adolescents, may be interested in knowing how to deal with parental influences and interferences as they prepare to leave home and begin to establish a lifestyle of their own.

My study examines the role of some family process variables in adolescent identity formation. In this chapter, I will briefly describe Erikson's identity construct and Marcia's conceptualization of four identity statuses. I will then provide a brief overview of the theoretical framework of my study. Next, I will state the purpose of my study, and summarize my research strategy.

Adolescent Identity Theory

During late adolescence, young people must develop a set of values, beliefs, and ideals that will guide their subsequent life choices and that will mark the development of their separate identities (Erikson, 1968, 1980). Some late adolescents show very little interest in and appear to avoid making decisions about values, beliefs and ideals, while others, eventually commit themselves to ideals similar to those held by their parents. Still other adolescents experiment with perspectives and attitudes that are markedly different from those of their parents. They may eventually commit themselves to some of these perspectives, modify others, and discard the rest, as they attempt to form their own unique identities. These alternative identity styles have been referred to as identity statuses (Marcia, 1966). Disinterested and identity-avoidant youths are said to be in the identity diffusion status; parent-identified youths are said to be in the identity foreclosure status; youths who are experimenting with alternative ideals and experiencing an identity crisis, are said to be in the identity moratorium status; and youths who are committed to a set of beliefs and ideals, after having earlier experienced an identity crisis, are said to be in the identity achieved status.

Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (1959, 1968, 1980) emphasizes the importance of the social context in which individual development occurs, and the family is generally regarded as the context of most importance for adolescent identity development. However, relatively little is known about the familial antecedents and correlates of adolescent identity. Most studies of adolescent identity exploration have attempted to identify the various personality, cognitive, and behavioural correlates of identity formation, and a smaller number of studies have examined some of the parental behaviours associated with the four identity statuses. In reviewing the identity status research, Bourne (1978a, 1978b), Marcia (1980), and Waterman (1982) reported on studies relating family relationships and parenting behaviours to identity status, but very few studies examining adolescent identity formation from a family systems perspective have been reported. My review of the more recent research literature indicates that this is still the case. Also, virtually all studies that have examined the family correlates of identity formation have used only one family member's perceptions of the family--the adolescents'.

Because of the importance Erikson and others have given to the social (especially the family) context of adolescent identity development and because so little research attention has been given to the family correlates of the identity statuses, I decided to study the role of some family process variables that might be significant in understanding adolescent identity formation.

Theoretical Framework of my Study

From a psychoanalytic point of view, separation and individuation from one's parents are seen as essential to identity formation (Blos, 1979; Erikson, 1959; Josselyn, Greenberger, & McConachie, 1977a, 1977b). Through the process of individuation, adolescents sever their emotional dependencies on and identifications with their parents. In establishing a unique identity, the adolescent assumes the ego functions and adaptive capabilities previously controlled by the parents.

The process of identity development in late adolescence coincides with and depends on the family processes of individuation and differentiation (Karpel, 1976; Sabatelli & Mazor, 1985). Individuation refers to the adolescent's efforts to separate from and to become less dependent on parents, and differentiation refers to the family's efforts to loosen the emotional bonds between family members and to increase the family's ability to adapt to situational and development changes. Although the processes whereby children achieve independence from their parents begin long before adolescence (Bloom, 1980; Mahler, 1968), it is during the adolescent years that separation from the family and the establishment of a sense of autonomy and personal identity become primary tasks in the life cycle of the individual (Erikson, 1968, 1980; McGoldrick & Carter, 1980).

Recent evidence (Gilligan, 1982) indicates that the psychoanalytic perspective, which emphasizes the need for separation and autonomy, applies mostly to male identity formation. Gilligan has argued that female identity formation depends more on the establishment of a sense of connectedness and attachment to significant others than on separation and autonomy. Similarly, Grotevant and Cooper (1985, 1986) and others, have suggested that identity must be understood in terms of the tension between separateness and connectedness, as experienced by males and females, in the context of their family and peer relationships.

From a family systems perspective, individual identity development occurs in the context of the dynamic balance the family achieves between the system-maintaining and system-changing processes that characterize family functioning throughout the life cycle. During the late adolescent or "launching" stage, youths typically challenge some of the established family roles and relationship rules as well as parental beliefs and decisions. Consequently, the family must deal with individual changes in adolescent attitudes and behaviours. However, families vary in their ability to accept changes and in their tendency to resist changes. In turn, the family's response to its adolescent member's identity explorations--either accepting or rejecting them--in turn, affects the youth's subsequent identity development.

David Olson developed a circumplex model of marital and family functioning that incorporates both individual and family development themes (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983). Individual development is seen as occurring in a context of family cohesion and family adaptability. Family cohesion and adaptability are dimensions of family functioning, which, according to Olson, include such family process variables as emotional bonding, boundaries, coalitions, decision-making, time together and apart, assertiveness, leadership, discipline, rules, and roles. In Olson's model, midrange ("balanced") levels of cohesion and adaptability are seen as the most functional, whereas high and low ("extreme") levels are seen as problematic. However, during periods of situational or developmental stress, balanced families are expected to change their cohesion and/or their adaptability to deal with the stress.

In my view, family patterns of cohesion and adaptability are significant to the process of late adolescent identity formation. During the late adolescent stage of the family life cycle, some families will shift their cohesion and adaptability levels to permit and to encourage adolescent identity exploration. In such families, adolescents who are actively exploring alternative beliefs and values, will be in the moratorium status, but they will eventually make commitments that will allow them to develop separate, unique identities (identity achieved status). However, other families will shift their cohesion and adaptability in order to discourage adolescent identity exploration, and still other families will strongly resist any shifts in their cohesion and adaptability. In families that resist change and in families that change in order to discourage identity exploration, adolescents will either be in the identity diffusion or identity foreclosure status.

Having discussed the theoretical framework of my study, I will now describe the purpose, objectives, goals, and hypotheses of my study. Later, I will summarize the methods I employed to gather data relevant to my objectives and the procedures I used to test my hypotheses.

The Purpose of My Study

The purpose of my study was to examine the relationships between four variables--family cohesion, family adaptability, family satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability, and the amount of parent-adolescent stress in the family--and adolescent identity development. My objectives were to obtain, from a relatively large number of late adolescents, 18 and 19 years of age, their scores on a measure of identity status; to obtain a measure of the degree of conflict or stress between parents and their late adolescent offspring; to obtain parental as well as adolescent perceptions of family cohesion, adaptability, and satisfaction; and to examine the relationships between the family process and parent-adolescent stress variables and adolescents' identity scores. My goals were to determine the levels of cohesion and the levels of adaptability that coincide with the four identity statuses, to assess the impact of family satisfaction on the relationship between identity status and family cohesion and adaptability, and to examine the relationship between parent-adolescent conflict and both identity status and family functioning.

Using Marcia's description of the four identity statuses and Olson's circumplex model, I developed a model incorporating my views about the shifts in family cohesion and family adaptability that would encourage the various styles of adolescent identity formation. My model proposes (a) that a family shift to decreased adaptability supports identity diffusion, (b) that a family shift to increased cohesion supports identity foreclosure, (c) that a family shift to increased adaptability and decreased cohesion supports identity moratorium, and (d) that a family shift back to balanced cohesion and adaptability supports identity achievement.

Research Strategy

From the investigators who developed them, I obtained, and received permission to use, a variety of research instruments. To assess adolescent identity status, I obtained Adams' Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS); to assess family perceptions of cohesion and adaptability, I obtained Olson's Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES III); to assess family members' satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability, I obtained Olson's Family Satisfaction measure; and to assess the degree of parent-adolescent stress, I obtained McCubbin's Adolescent-Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (A-File). I also designed a questionnaire to obtain demographic information about my research subjects.

I conducted a small scale pilot study, with five adolescents and 10 parents, to obtain feedback about the research instruments and the written instructions I provided. I considered such feedback necessary, because I intended to request the late adolescent subjects of my study, and their parents, to complete my questionnaire and the test instruments in their homes. The feedback I received from my pilot study subjects indicated that my written instructions were clear and unambiguous and that the questions asked were not perceived as either offensive or inappropriately intrusive. Therefore, I decided to proceed with the study.

After describing the nature and purpose of my study to students at a small, private high school and to students in college and university classes, I distributed envelopes containing the various research instruments to 18 and 19 year old student volunteers. I received completed questionnaires and test instruments from 119 students and 191 parents. Fourteen students did not return completed parent forms and therefore I obtained parental and adolescent perceptions of family cohesion, adaptability, and satisfaction from 105 of the 119 families.

Because the independent and dependent variables were measured concomitantly and were not manipulated experimentally, the design of my study was an ex-post-facto one. I analyzed the data I collected using correlational and analysis of variance procedures.

In this chapter, I have provided a theoretical overview of the problem I investigated, presented my own perspectives about the problem, identified the purpose of my study and my hypotheses, and described my research strategy. In the next chapter, I will provide a comprehensive review of Erikson's theory of identity development, of Marcia's identity status paradigm, and of the research concerning the identity statuses. I will also review family systems theory and will give special attention to Olson's circumplex model of marital and family functioning. I will then present my model integrating Marcia's individual identity development perspective with Olson's model and the hypotheses derived from my model.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Human social development is characterized by the need to establish a sense of belonging and interdependence, and a sense of uniqueness and individuality. This duality of connectedness and separateness begins at the moment of birth and remains throughout life. Damon (1983) refers to these two complementary developmental functions as socialization and individuation. The socialization function is an integrating one that enables a person to establish and maintain relationships as a member of a family, as a member of various friendship groups, and as a member of society at large. According to Damon (1983), the goal of the individuation function is the development of a sense of personal identity. However, Gilligan (1982) and Thorbecke and Grotevant (1982) have argued that both connectedness to others (socialization) and separation from others (individuation) may be required in developing a sense of identity, with socialization playing a more significant role in the identity formation of females and individuation being more important to male identity.

Identity formation through individuation and/or socialization is a lifelong process (Damon, 1983). Infants come to recognize themselves as separate persons, distinct from their caregivers. Toddlers learn to stretch their social bonds by asserting their autonomy, by saying "no" to their adult caregivers, and by deliberately exploring the environment on their own. Children in school and at play are apart from their families for several hours a day and busily go about discovering those talents and interests that distinguish them from their parents, siblings, and peers. Although parents and families remain important to them, young adolescents typically strive to establish greater independence from home and family by joining peers whose behaviours, language, hairstyles, and clothing set them apart from adults and, in some cases, from other peers. According to Newman and Newman (1984), late adolescents are compelled to make a wide variety of relatively permanent choices about their lives. In late adolescence when identity formation becomes a major task, previously formed identifications are re-examined, tested, often challenged, and renegotiated. Late adolescents must make choices about future occupation, religious beliefs, a personal moral code, intimate relationships, and a political ideology--choices that will provide a structure for their social interactions. Eventually, a conception of the self as unique and different from others is formed. However, a personal identity does not remain static. Once constructed, it is continually evaluated and reassessed in the context of close and important social relationships throughout adulthood (Damon, 1983).

In this chapter, I will review Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development with particular emphasis on his ideas about adolescent identity formation, identity confusion, and the central components of identity formation--crisis and commitment. Then I will outline James Marcia's conceptualization of four identity statuses and will provide an overview of the research using Marcia's identity statuses. My review of the identity status research literature will include studies that have examined the developmental nature, gender differences, personality correlates, and social context of the statuses. Because of the importance of the social context (especially the family) in which identity formation occurs, I will also present an overview of family systems theory and will argue that individual identity development can best be studied in the context of family change. The small body of identity research incorporating the family systems perspective will also be reviewed. Next, I will present David Olson's circumplex model as a way of understanding individual identity development from a family systems point of view. I will then argue that Olson's model has important implications regarding adolescent identity development. At the end of the chapter, I will present the hypotheses of my study.

Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

Erik Erikson's (1959, 1968) differential, stage theory of human psychosocial development incorporates the notion that human development can be properly understood only when considered in the context of the society within which development occurs. Influenced by Sigmund and Anna Freud, Erikson extended S. Freud's emphasis on psychosexual development to what he referred to as psychosocial development. According to Erikson, humans are not only biological and psychological creatures but also social creatures. Also, whereas Freud emphasized the roles of the id and the pleasure principle in human development, Erikson emphasized the roles of the ego and the reality principle. Because what is real is shaped, formed, and provided by the society in which one lives, Erikson (1959, 1968) argued that the specifics of societal influences need to be considered in order to understand the ego's functioning.

Erikson proposed a stage theory of human psychosocial development. At each of the eight stages he included an emotional or psychosocial crisis in development. As a person ages, Erikson argued, the ego must constantly adjust to changing social influences and therefore, at each stage, a new emotional or psychosocial crisis emerges. Erikson pointed out that "anything that grows has a ground plan" and "out of this ground plan, the parts arise, each having its special time of ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole" (Erikson, 1959, p.52). There is a "maturational timetable" for the development of the ego, according to Erikson, and each part of the fully formed ego has a stage or a time period within the lifespan when it must develop, if it is ever to develop. Thus, in Erikson's view, there is a limited amount of time during which each of the necessary psychosocial crises must be resolved. Therefore, each stage becomes a critical period for the development of a particular capability. If the ego develops the appropriate capabilities, the crisis will be successfully resolved and healthy development will proceed (Lerner, 1976). However, if a particular capability is not developed within the appropriate critical period, according to Erikson, that important psychosocial capability will never be properly developed and the remainder of the person's psychosocial development will be unfavourably altered as a result (Lerner, 1976).

The differential nature of Erikson's theory is illustrated by the bipolar dimensions with which he distinguishes between the various stages of psychosocial development. Stage one is characterized as the Oral--Sensory Stage, and, according to Erikson, the child's task here is one of developing a sense of trust in the world as opposed to remaining distrustful. If the child comes to see the world as generally trustworthy and thus develops more trust than distrust, healthy psychosocial development will proceed. However, an overabundance of distrust is maladaptive. Similarly, in stage two, referred to as the Anal--Musculature stage, the developmental task is the need to develop a sense of autonomy as opposed to the sense of shame and self-doubt that plagues the non-autonomous individual. In the third or Genital--Locomotor stage, the four to five year old child must learn to walk away from parents, both to resolve what Freud referred to as the Oedipal conflict, and to make the first of many steps towards individuation or separateness from one's parents. At this stage, the child who masters this important psychosocial task, gains a sense of initiative from the newly discovered ability to step into the world without the parents' guidance and prodding. The child who fails to achieve this major developmental task remains dependent on parents for direction in life and, thus, develops a feeling of guilt. Developing a sense of competence is the developmental task of the fourth or Latency stage in Erikson's theory. According to Erikson, at this stage, children who learn the tasks needed to function as adult members of society, feel capable and industrious, whereas those at the other end of this bipolar dimension feel inferior.

During the fifth stage, which Erikson refers to as Puberty and Adolescence, a young person is required to develop a sense of personal identity that is unique. Although Erikson preferred to leave the term "ego identity" somewhat imprecise (Conger & Petersen, 1984), identity has been defined as "the individual's way of organizing all the past and present identifications, attributes, desires and orientations that the individual believes best represents the self" (Damon, 1983, p. 325). Marcia described identity as "a self structure--an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs and individual history" (1980, p. 159). Adolescents as well as older persons with well-developed ego identities, see themselves as separate, distinctive individuals with a sense of continuity over time (Conger & Petersen, 1984). Failure to achieve this sense of uniqueness and distinctiveness leads to role confusion and identity diffusion. In this state, young people are unable to make a commitment to any single view of themselves, unable to integrate the various roles they play, and unable to feel confident in their ability to make meaningful choices.

The last three stages in Erikson's theory of psychosocial development apply to young adulthood, adulthood, and the years of maturity. Following adolescence, the youth's newly established sense of personal identity leads to another emotional crisis: forming a close, intimate relationship with another individual. The inability to share oneself intimately with another person, results in a sense of isolation. In adulthood, the psychosocial imperative is to play the role of a productive, contributing member of society, which leads to a feeling of generativity. Failure to do so, leads to a sense of stagnation. Finally, according to Erikson, in the later years of life, the stage referred to as Maturity, the person will either experience a feeling of ego integrity--the feeling that one has lead a full and complete life--or a sense of despair. Despair is more likely for those who have not achieved the earlier psychosocial milestones during their respective critical periods. Individuals who have felt distrustful of others, ashamed, guilty, inferior, confused about roles, isolated, and stagnant, are more likely to feel that time is running out and that life has not been particularly worthwhile.

Adolescent Identity Formation

In Erikson's theory, identity formation is the major developmental task of the Puberty and Adolescence stage. Because the physical, cognitive, social, and family changes occurring, the adolescent's self-image is seriously challenged, and the search for a unique, personal identity is necessitated.

When a child reaches puberty, a number of important biological changes begin to occur, both inside and outside the body. The increased growth rate, hormonal changes, physiological development of the genitals, and the development of secondary sexual characteristics, all contribute to a significant change in the young adolescent's self-image. At the same time, changes in thinking usually take place as the youth becomes capable of formal operational thought (Piaget, 1970). Adolescents begin to think about themselves in new ways; they think about their own thoughts, form alternative hypotheses, and test these hypotheses. No longer is the adolescent satisfied with one, simple answer to a problem. As a result, decision-making becomes more complex and difficult.

Social pressures also begin to increase during the Puberty and Adolescence stage. Adolescents are typically encouraged to begin considering future options regarding study, work, lifestyle, and friendships. Their involvements with peers increase, both in kind and in frequency. A number of family changes are also likely to occur as one or more of the children enter adolescence. Because of the need to change some of the rules and role relationships, in many families, this is a confusing and disruptive stage of the family life cycle (Carter & McGoldrick, 1988).

According to Erikson (1959, 1968), in addition to changes in the adolescent's biology, thinking, and social relations, individual identity formation is dependent, to some extent, on the successful resolution of earlier psychosocial crises. By the time the youth reaches adolescence, a positive sense of industry should have been achieved, and the youth should possess a belief in his or her ability to make things work. According to Erikson (1959, 1968), this sense of task related competence and self-confidence is a necessary precursor to the formation of a sense of personal identity. The reason for this is that occupational choice is at the heart of personal identity (Damon, 1983). However, in addition to being aware and confident of their work-related skills, youths evaluate their past and present attributes in the light of current judgements about the kind of persons they would like to become. The adolescent, particularly the late adolescent, must construct "a new totality out of all of one's earlier childhood identifications" (Damon, 1983, p. 326). Some identifications must be subordinated to others, and some may be eliminated entirely. The adolescent gradually tries out new opinions and behaviours, some of which will 'fit' the adolescent's emerging sense of self, while others are rejected or altered to conform to it. The identity that results is a dynamic "gestalt"--an organized, integrated collection of past identifications; current beliefs, attitudes, and self-perceptions; and future plans--which is more than the sum of its many parts. It establishes a person's social role and personality, guides future career and interpersonal relationship choices, and directs one's political and religious activities (Damon, 1983).

According to Erikson (1974), adolescence is a psychosocial moratorium, "a period of delay granted to someone who is not ready to meet an obligation or forced on someone who should give himself time" (p. 129). During this stage, adolescents tend to be provocatively playful and society is selectively permissive towards youths. Yet, during this time, young people tend to form deep, though not necessarily long-lasting, commitments to various ideas, attitudes, beliefs, and lifestyles.

The adolescent's search for a unique identity is a developmental crisis during which the youth experiments with new opinions and behaviours. The opinions and behaviours may be adopted, modified to suit the young person, or abandoned as unsuitable. In their efforts to define themselves, later adolescents must take into account the bonds that have been previously built between themselves and others as well as the direction that they hope to take in the future. In this respect, the opinions of others are important to the youth seeking a unique identity. Adolescents seek a sense of consistency between their self-perceptions and the opinions and expectations that they believe others have of them. Thus, in Erikson's view, developing a sense of identity is, at least to some extent, influenced by the social context, the perceptions of others contributing significantly to the development of one's ego identity. Erikson (1959) states:

> The young individual must learn to be most himself where he means the most to others--those others, to be sure, who have come to mean most to him. The term identity expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others. (p. 102)

In Erikson's view, personal identity is more than self-understanding. Identity includes a sense of psychosocial well-being; a sense of self-acceptance, satisfaction, and comfort with oneself; and a sense of assurance that one is recognized by the significant others in one's life (Erikson, 1968). Lerner (1985) further suggests that the reactions of significant others to the adolescents' physical and psychological changes will function as feedback to the adolescent and, in a circular manner, will shape the adolescent's further behavioural development. Thus, according to Lerner (1985), by influencing the context which influences them, adolescents are "producers of their own development."

(p. 356)

Identity Confusion

According to Erikson, the challenge of the identity crisis during adolescence is particularly problematic. In fact, he writes that identity related psychopathology is the most common clinical disturbance in the first two decades of life, and that almost everyone experiences some identity confusion at some time in their lives (Erikson, 1968).

Although identity confusion is most often experienced during adolescence, it may be related to problems in developing basic trust, autonomy, initiative, and/or industry in earlier stages of psychosocial development (Damon, 1983). A diffusion of one's time perspective is related to a sense of distrust developed during infancy. Such adolescents appear immobile, are unable to meet deadlines, cannot tolerate delays, fear the future, and try to avoid facing present expectations. Failure to establish autonomy at the end of infancy results in a sense of shame and self-doubt, which produces overpowering feelings of self-consciousness in adolescence. This can seriously interfere in identity formation because the youth's assertions of autonomy are hampered by lingering feelings of self-consciousness and doubt.

The guilt that results from an inability to resolve the childhood crisis of initiative can appear in adolescence as role fixation in contrast to the role experimentation that Erikson considers necessary in the adolescent's search for identity. Such role fixation may also produce "a pathological questioning of the self's worth" (Damon, 1983, p. 329) and lead to the adoption of self-defeating behaviours that not only impede the youth's efforts to establish a viable personal identity, but that can also lead to real conflicts with society.

According to Damon (1983), the fourth symptom of identity confusion is work paralysis, related to developmental problems during middle to late childhood. If children develop a sense of inadequacy and inferiority regarding the completion of tasks, during adolescence they may be unable to concentrate on and complete any assigned tasks, may ignore all other tasks while becoming obsessively focused on a single activity, may frantically switch from one activity to another in search of a task that will give them a sense of self-worth, or may develop unrealistic self-expectations of task performance which will lead to further disappointment.

Although earlier psychosocial failures seriously interfere in the identity formation process, the persistent demands of society and family also play a significant role in the adolescent's search for a unique identity. Adolescents may slip easily into the roles that are expected of them without ever identifying themselves and their personal goals with those social expectations. The resolution of the personal identity crisis is thus hastened by external events, parents, other family members, teachers, and employers. A young person may make a series of premature identity decisions in response only to the expectations of others. The 'identity' thus adopted may be positive and pro-social or negative and anti-social, but it is not the product of self-examination, searching, and role experimentation. Rather, it is an acceptance of and commitment to the definition of oneself provided by significant others. Adolescents whose identity crises are resolved according to the expectations of external agents my have little conceptualization of themselves or of their social environment, and few opportunities to review options or to experiment with different roles (Newman & Newman, 1984).

Identity: Crisis and Commitment

According to Erikson (1968), the two central components of identity formation in adolescence are crisis and commitment. As described above, the identity crisis is one of experimenting with various ideas, beliefs, values, and roles, all of which relate to the adolescent's need to select a future occupation, to form a religious perspective and a political ideology, and to adopt a sexual orientation and corresponding sex role behaviours (Waterman, 1982). Some roles, beliefs, and values that youths experiment with will be adopted as they are; others will be discarded or modified to suit the youth's sense of self. If adolescents develop a sense of well-being and satisfaction with the roles, beliefs, and opinions that they experiment with and that enable them to maximize their personal strengths and gain recognition from the community, then they will become committed to these beliefs and roles.

Marcia's Identity Statuses: Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Achievement

In order to operationalize Erikson's theoretical concepts, James Marcia (1966) conceptualized four, separate, hierarchically related identity statuses:

identity achievement, identity moratorium, identity foreclosure, and identity diffusion. Each status is defined in terms of the adolescent's struggling with alternative choices and beliefs and in terms of the degree to which the youth has made a commitment to a particular set of ideals in the areas of occupation, religion, and politics. Individuals are classified into one of the four statuses on the basis of the degree to which they have consolidated their identities by experiencing an identity crisis and by committing themselves to a set of beliefs, roles, values, and occupational goals. Marcia's four identity statuses and a summary of the identity research that his ideas have spawned, are described next.

The identity diffusion status is characterized by adolescents' lack of commitment to any single view of themselves or to any beliefs and values. Identity diffused youths are unable to integrate the various roles they play, lack confidence in their ability to make meaningful decisions, and may be anxious, apathetic, or hostile towards existing social roles. Thus, such adolescents have neither experienced nor resolved an identity crisis and have found neither an occupational goal nor an ideological commitment of any kind.

Individuals in a state of foreclosure have never experienced an identity crisis. Rather, they have prematurely established an identity on the basis of their parents' or significant others' choices, rather than their own. Their commitments are more a reflection of their parents' ideologies and beliefs than a product of their own self-assessment and experimentation.

Erikson (1959, 1974) used the term "psychosocial moratorium" to describe a period of free experimentation before an identity is achieved. Individuals in the moratorium status are currently struggling with occupational and ideological issues but have not yet made definitive commitments to either. They are experiencing an identity crisis and are actively seeking alternatives.

The identity achievement category is reserved for those youths who have experienced a decision-making or crisis period and are pursuing self-chosen ideological and occupational goals. These decisions were made consciously, freely, and autonomously; are congruent with the individual's sense of self; and may or may not be significantly different from those ideals held by the youth's parents and/or other family and social group members.

There is an assumption of a developmental progression in Marcia's (1966) analysis of identity status. In identity diffusion, the identity is least well-defined. Progression from diffusion to foreclosure, moratorium, or achievement indicates progress in identity formation. Moving from any other status to diffusion signifies regression (Newman & Newman, 1984). A person who has achieved identity at one point could conceivably re-enter a crisis or moratorium period later on. However, once a person has experienced an identity crisis (moratorium or achieved), that person could not again be described as foreclosed (Waterman, 1982).

Marcia (1980) argued that his identification of four identity statuses has advantages as an approach to understanding ego identity. The first advantage is advantages as an approach to understanding ego identity. The first advantage is that the four statuses provide "a greater variety of styles in dealing with the identity issue than does Erikson's simple dichotomy of identity versus identity confusion" (Marcia, 1980, p. 161). Marcia also indicated that the four statuses can be determined with relatively good reliability. The second advantage is that, with the exception of the identity achievement status, Marcia's conceptualization indicates that there are both positive or healthy, as well as negative or dysfunctional aspects to each of the styles. For example, as Marcia indicates, foreclosed adolescents may be seen as cooperative, committed, and steadfast or as conforming, dogmatic, and rigid. Similarly, moratorium youths may be viewed as either sensitive, flexible, and highly ethical or anxious, vacillating, and self-righteous, whereas diffused adolescents may be perceived as carefree, charming, and independent or as careless, psychopathic, and schizoid (Marcia, 1980).

Reactions to Marcia's Paradigm

Marcia's identity status paradigm has been criticized by Cote and Levine (1983, 1988a, 1988b) as not appropriately conceptualizing and operationalizing Erikson's theory of ego identity formation. As Cote and Levine point out (1988a), Marcia acknowledged having invented the identity statuses in order to provide a greater variety of identity styles than does Erikson's simple dichotomy of identity versus identity confusion. Cote and Levine argue that Marcia's paradigm overlaps relatively little with Erikson's theory, primarily because his and psychological factors that Erikson proposed. They also point out that Marcia incorrectly uses Eriksonian terminology in labelling and describing his four identity statuses. Finally, according to Cote and Levine (1988a), Marcia's original conceptualization of the identity statuses as being on a continuum with the diffusion, foreclosure and moratorium statuses representing benchmarks toward the goal of identity achievement, has never been validated. They also argue that Marcia's theory is elitist, ethnocentric, and under-representative of the construct of identity.

Waterman (1988) rejects most of Cote and Levine's criticisms and defends Marcia's identity status paradigm. While acknowledging that identity status theory contains a number of propositions that were developed without reference to and, in some cases, contrasted with Erikson's work, he also delineates seven important points of commonality between Erikson's theory and identity status theory. Waterman argues that the construct validity of the statuses has been amply demonstrated, that their utility across a wide range of ages and with both sexes is well-established, and that they have also been found to be helpful in understanding identity formation across a broad range of life domains including vocational choice, religion, political ideology, sex-role attitudes, sexuality, friendship, dating, and family role-taking. Waterman (1988) also points out that the substantial body of research that has made use of the identity statuses has supported the theoretically delineated pathways of identity status development and has made a good start in identifying the antecedents of identity change, the social context of identity formation, and the cognitive skills associated with identity exploration.

Adams' Method of Assessing Identity Status

Whereas Marcia (1966) used a clinical interview to assess adolescent identity status, other researchers, such as Adams, Shea, and Fitch (1979) developed self-report questionnaires. In comparison to Marcia's interview methodology, which is time-consuming to administer and cumbersome to score, these measures are relatively easy to administer and there is less potential for coding and scoring errors. Adams' instrument, the Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS), retains the use of Marcia's four identity statuses, but, in comparison to Marcia's interview technique, is based less on the administrator's inferences about a youth's responses and more on the youth's self-assessment (Craig-Bray & Adams, 1986). Also unlike Marcia's interview, Adams' questionnaire permits researchers to use large sample sizes, and the validity and reliability of the measure have been determined. Craig-Bray and Adams (1986) also point out that the Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status can be used to identify youths in transition stages between the four identity statuses, something Marcia did not do.

Identity Status Research

Marcia's identity status paradigm has spawned an extensive body of research, which has been reviewed by Bernard (1981), Bourne (1978a, 1978b), Marcia (1980), Matteson (1975), and Waterman (1982). Much of the research falls into four categories: the developmental nature of identity formation; gender differences in identity formation; personality, cognitive, and interpersonal correlates of the identity statuses; and the social context of identity formation.

The Developmental Nature of Identity Status

As Waterman (1982) points out, "the basic hypothesis of identity development is that the transition from adolescence to adulthood involves a progressive strengthening in the sense of identity" (p. 342). A number of cross-sectional and quasi-longitudinal studies (Adams & Fitch, 1982; Archer, 1982; Archer & Waterman, 1983; Marcia, 1976; Meilman, 1979; Stark & Traxler, 1974; Waterman & Waterman, 1971; Waterman, Geary, & Waterman, 1974; Waterman & Goldman, 1976) have demonstrated that there is, in many but not in all cases, a gradual transition from diffusion and foreclosure in early adolescence, to moratorium and achievement in late adolescence and/or young adulthood. Several of these studies have also demonstrated that the period between age 18 and 21 is the most active in terms of identity exploration and that the greatest gains in identity formation tend to occur during the college years. However, the studies by Waterman and colleagues have shown that gains in identity status during college years are more easily demonstrated in the area of occupational choice than in political ideology and religious beliefs.

Identity status theory predicts that moratorium would likely be the least stable of the statuses because "it is associated with an expressed desire to make changes in one's life" (Waterman, 1982, p. 344). However, there is no indication as to which of the three other statuses would likely be the most stable. The identity status paradigm suggests that, over time, identity diffused individuals may either remain identity diffused or become foreclosed or identity achieved; identity foreclosed subjects may either remain foreclosed or become a moratorium or identity achieved youth; moratorium youths may either become achieved or regress to the diffusion status; and identity achieved adolescents may either remain achieved or regress to the moratorium or identity diffusion statuses (Waterman, 1982).

Waterman points out (1988) that the hypothesized developmental continuum has not received strong empirical support. Rather than seeing a movement from identity diffusion and foreclosure into a moratorium period of active exploration followed, ideally, by a sense of commitment to a set of beliefs, attitudes, career and lifestyle choices (identity achieved) as the norm, empirical findings indicate that each identity status has its own distinctive pattern of correlated attitudes and behaviours, and its own advantages and disadvantages (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979; Marcia, 1967, 1976; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schacter, 1968; Toder & Marcia, 1973; Waterman & Waterman, 1971; Waterman, Geary, & Waterman, 1974; Waterman & Goldman, 1976). Thus, the four statuses are currently viewed as qualitatively different approaches to the task of identity formation, rather than as a clear progression through stages (Newman & Newman, 1984, Waterman, 1988).

Gender Differences in Identity Status

Although Waterman originally stated that "males and females undergo similar patterns of identity development" (1982, p. 351), he later suggested that research has found that "the task of identity formation is more complex for females than it is for males in that they are likely to address more areas of identity concern" (Waterman, 1988, p. 196). A number of studies have suggested that identity foreclosure and moratorium may have different psychological significance for males than for females (Cella, DeWolfe, & Fitzgibbon, 1987; Marcia, 1980; Scheidel & Marcia, 1985; Thorbecke & Grotevant, 1982; Waterman, 1982). While both sexes appear to be equally well-adjusted to identity achievement, and neither copes well with identity diffusion, females, much more than males, often appear to adjust well to foreclosure. Thus, for women, foreclosure status seems to have about the same positive effects as identity achievement whereas for men, the moratorium status is more positively related to identity achievement. Thus, Marcia (1980) has argued that Erikson's theory is more applicable to male than to female identity formation.

In attempting to explain the apparent differences between the foreclosed and moratorium statuses in males and females, Damon (1983) pointed out that this finding may be an artifact of different questions asked of males and females in many studies. Females are reportedly asked a greater proportion of questions about sexual commitments than males, and this may also elicit more foreclosure-type answers from females. It may also be that women have more cultural support for foreclosure status than men do. However, Newman and Newman (1984) suggested that, for women, foreclosure is more likely to be associated with internal locus of control, field independence, and less conformity to peer pressure, whereas the opposite appears to be true for men. They further suggested that "a stable identity, even one that is quite closely tied to one's family of origin, is adaptive for women, though such a resolution has been characterized as a brittle, vulnerable position for men" (Newman & Newman, 1984, p. 345). Similarly, Douvan and Adelson (1966) and Matteson (1975) indicated that the identity formation process in males reflects the cultural expectation of autonomy and personality differentiation, whereas in females, it reflects the equally influential expectation of the establishment of an intimate relationship. McDermott, et al., (1983) also found evidence to support the view that adolescent psychosocial development is different for boys and girls. They found that girls valued family affiliation, closeness, and emotional expression more than boys who preferred independence and self-differentiation.

Gilligan (1982) has asserted that, for women, a sense of connectedness and attachment to others is basic to their self-perceptions and identities whereas, for men, separateness and autonomy are important in their self-definitions, even in terms of relationships. Following from Gilligan's theoretical work and the results of their own research, Grotevant and his colleagues (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986; Thorbecke & Grotevant, 1982) have suggested that identity must be understood in terms of the tension between separateness and connectedness as experienced by males and females in the context of their family and peer relationships. As Marcia has also pointed out (1980), it appears that Erikson's theory has been biased towards males in that it has emphasized the importance of separateness and autonomy in self-definition and ignored the role of attachment. Gilligan has suggested ways in which both connectedness (attachment) and separateness (autonomy) may be important in individual identity development.

A number of studies contradict the findings that, in general, foreclosure in women and moratorium in men are more closely related to identity achievement, and that relationship issues are more significant to female identity formation while autonomy and independence are more crucial to male development. For example, Ginsburg and Orlofsky (1981) and Orlofsky (1977) found that, even though the moratorium status was accompanied by greater levels of anxiety for women than for men, it was, as in men, also associated with higher levels of ego functioning. Similarly, Rothman (1978) concluded that foreclosure is not a stable and adaptive status for females and that "the experience of a 'crisis' is an important element in the development of female ego identity." (p.103). Rogow, Marcia and Slugoski (1983) also found that interpersonal-sexual concerns are important for men's identity development as well as women's. In fact, these authors suggest that "the process variables of crisis and commitment may so overshadow a particular content area that any content of personal relevance for the late adolescent might be used in investigating ego identity development." (Rogow, Marcia, & Slugoski, 1983, p. 387).

Personality and Other Correlates of Identity Status

Research has found that individuals with different identity statuses vary in a number of ways. As might be expected, Marcia (1967) and Podd, Marcia, and Rubin (1970) found that individuals in the midst of an identity crisis (moratorium status) were the most anxious, while foreclosure youths, who have never experienced such a crisis, were the least anxious. LaVoie (1976) found that identity achieved individuals had more positive self-concepts, had less defensiveness, and had fewer symptoms of neurosis and maladjustment than youths in the other statuses. Other studies found that achieved youths were less self-focused and self-conscious (Adams, Abraham, & Markstrom, 1987), but more self-accepting and more satisfied (Adams & Shea, 1979). Similarly, according to Marcia (1980), achieved and moratorium youths had higher self-esteem than foreclosed and diffused individuals in a study conducted by Breuer. Marcia (1967) also found that foreclosed and diffused adolescents changed their self-evaluations, both positively and negatively, in response to external feedback more often than did moratorium and achieved individuals. Therefore, it appears that those who have prematurely committed to an identity in response to parental influences (foreclosure) are less anxious but more self-critical and unstable regarding their self-concepts. Youths engaged in an identity crisis (moratorium) tend to be more anxious but also more self-valuing. Identity achieved individuals tend to be positive about themselves and stable regarding their self-concepts and tend to experience only moderate levels of anxiety as they venture out into the world.

As would be expected, given the definition of the foreclosure status, Orlofsky (1978) and Orlofsky, Marcia, and Lesser (1973) found that foreclosures were significantly less autonomous and self-directed and had a stronger need for social (especially family) approval than youths in other identity statuses. Matteson (1974) found identity achieved youths to be more able to control their impulses; Cella, DeWolfe, and Fitzgibbon (1987) found both foreclosed and diffused adolescents to be more impulsive, whereas moratorium and identity achieved youths were more reflective. Abraham (1983), Adams and Shea (1979), and Waterman, Beubel, and Waterman (1970) found that youths who had experienced an identity crisis (achieved and moratorium) were more internally controlled, whereas foreclosure and diffusion youths had a more external locus of control.

Foreclosed adolescents were found to endorse relatively rigid, authoritarian values and to place a high value on practising obedience to authority in a number of studies (Adams & Shea, 1979; Marcia, 1966, 1967; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Matteson, 1974; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972). On the other hand, Matteson (1977) found that identity achieved males and females tended to reject compliance to authority. As for moral reasoning, individuals in the moratorium status and those who have achieved identity tend to score at the

the moratorium status and those who have achieved identity tend to score at the post-conventional or principled moral reasoning level of Kohlberg's stage theory, whereas identity foreclosure and diffused youths rarely score above the conventional levels (Hogan, 1973; Podd, 1972; Rowe & Marcia, 1980). Hogan (1973) also found that those who have achieved identity tend to be more ethically oriented, empathic, and socialized than those in the other statuses.

Although no differences in intelligence have been found among the statuses (Marcia, 1966; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schenkel, 1975), some significant differences in academic behaviour and performance have been identified. For example, Waterman and Waterman (1970) found that identity achievers had better study habits than youths in the other statuses. Identity achievers were found to perform best and foreclosures poorest on a concept-attainment task under stressful conditions (Marcia, 1966). A positive relationship has also been found between youths' identity status and cognitive development (Rowe & Marcia, 1979) and abstract cognitive functioning (Jones & Strowig, 1968). In Waterman and Waterman's longitudinal studies with college students (1970, 1971, 1972), they found that foreclosures in the area of occupational choice were the most satisfied with college and that occupational moratoriums were least satisfied; identity achievers were more interested in cultural activities (art, music and literature); and moratoriums were more likely than youths in the other statuses to change their college majors. In cases where students left college, Waterman and Waterman (1972) found that identity and identity diffused youths usually left because of decisions that were made for them by others, such as college administrators.

Regarding the relationship between identity status and interpersonal style, Donovan (1975) found that diffusion subjects tended to be withdrawn, to feel out of place in the world, and to keep rather odd hours. They also saw their parents as distant and misunderstanding and were very wary of authority figures and of their peers as well. Foreclosure youths in the Donovan study were defined as the best behaved: they studied more diligently, kept regular hours, indicated that they were happy even in rather difficult situations, and saw their homes as loving and affectionate. However, they appeared to be distant from their peers and in awe of those in authority. Donovan's moratorium youths were described as volatile, competitive, needing to be visible, attractive to others, and as expressing themselves clearly. They were described as being counter-dependent and somewhat hostile towards peers and as engaging in struggles for control with authority figures. They enjoyed intensity in relationships, engaged and disengaged with others rather quickly, and were interested in self-knowledge and in exploring the world. The two identity achieved subjects in Donovans' study were both women in their thirties and considerably older than the other subjects. Donovan described them as being independent from family, as being calm, tolerant and nurturant towards others in the group, and as being affectionate and less hostile, less dominant and less anxious than the foreclosed and moratorium individuals. They were measured and respectful in their relations with authority figures.

The Social Context of Identity Status

Erikson posited an important social or cultural component to identity formation. Personal identity reflects some of the value orientation of the individual's reference groups and of the nation (Newman & Newman, 1978). While family members, neighbours, teachers, employers, friends, members of one's ethnic group, and fellow citizens all hold certain expectations for the behaviour of the late adolescent, most of the theorizing and research relating to the social context of adolescent identity development has focused on the impact of various family variables, sometimes in contrast to the influence of the youth's peer group.

Parents and peers. According to Siegel (1982), parents and peers are neither necessarily nor normatively at odds, even though this is often the case. Siegel argued that the peer group provides a sense of belonging and security to many youths during the time that their family ties are undergoing change. Youniss and Smollar (1985) indicated that parent and peer relationships "contribute different, but equally valuable, experiences for the task of adolescent development" (p. 159). In contrast to much earlier theorizing about adolescence, which viewed the painful and troublesome separation from parental authority as one of the most important tasks of adolescence (Blos, 1967, 1979; A. Freud, 1969; S. Freud, 1962; Josselyn, 1954), Erikson, and most other adolescent theorists and researchers since Erikson, have taken the position that there is no universal 'generation gap' or significant turmoil between parents and adolescents (Bandura, 1964; Bandura & Walters, 1959; Cooper & Ayers-Lopez, 1985; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Fasick, 1984; Offer, 1969; Offer & Sabshin, 1984; Siegel, 1982; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Rather, there appears to be a relative compatibility of views and values held by parents and adolescents. In fact, as Erikson suggested and as the research indicates, parents and families play a very significant role in adolescent psychosocial development (Fasick, 1984; Greenberg, Siegel, & Leitch, 1983; Kenny, 1987; Newman & Murray, 1983).

Family variables related to identity status. Marcia (1980) summarized a number of studies that examined the relationship of parental child-rearing practices to adolescent identity formation. He indicated that, in general, identity diffused youths had experienced rejection and were detached from their parents. Also, in these cases, the same-sex parent was generally perceived as weak and passive. Foreclosed adolescents typically saw their parents as accepting and encouraging, while parents of foreclosed youths described themselves as child-centered and protective. In one study (Matteson, 1974), foreclosure families were seen as being very task-oriented, and the fathers were perceived by their foreclosed sons as dominating, coercive, and as discouraging emotional expression and by their foreclosed daughters as supportive and encouraging. In this and other studies summarized by Marcia (1980), moratorium youths saw themselves as having ambivalent relationships with their parents and as struggling to free themselves, particularly from their mothers, and saw their parents as disappointed in and disapproving of them. Moratorium families were also described as emphasizing autonomy, activity, and self-expression. Finally, in Marcia's review, families of achieved adolescents were described as having positive but moderately ambivalent relationships without either the negative quality of relationships in moratorium families or the feelings of rejection experienced by diffused youths.

Marcia (1980) reported that paternal variables, especially the style and amount of interaction fathers had with their adolescent sons, were most significant in relation to sons' identity statuses, whereas maternal interactional characteristics were most important in relation to their daughters' identity statuses. Grotevant and Cooper (1985) similarly found that the nature of the father - son relationship was the most significant in regard to sons' identity explorations, whereas for daughters, the characteristics of several family dyadic relationships were important to their identity development. Enright, Lapsley, Drivas, and Fehr (1980) found that adolescent identity in both male and female junior and senior high school students was most significantly affected by their fathers' parenting style, his democratic approach facilitating identity exploration in both sexes. In another study, Adams and Jones (1983) examined the relation between adolescent girls' identity statuses and their perceptions of their fathers' and mothers' parenting styles and found that girls in the achieved and moratorium statuses perceived their mothers as having encouraged their independence and autonomy and their fathers as having punished them fairly.

In contrast to the Adams and Jones (1983) study, which found that maternal praise and approval were not related to identity status, a number of studies have found a positive relationship between parental warmth and supportiveness and adolescent identity status (Conger, 1973; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; LaVoie, 1976). Conversely, lower identity status, rebelliousness, and lack of autonomy appear to be related to either parental restrictiveness or excessive permissiveness (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; LaVoie, 1976). Unlike the Conger, Douvan and Adelson, and LaVoie studies, which did not distinguish between male and female adolescents, Newman and Newman (1978) found that the parental antecedents of male identity included early restrictiveness and warmth coupled with later expectations of independence, whereas female identity development was enhanced by early expectations of independence, minimal punishment, and possibly, some degree of family conflict.

With respect to the impact of family disruption on adolescent identity exploration, Streitmatter (1987) found that seventh grade adolescents from intact families were more foreclosed than their counterparts from disrupted families. Streitmatter also concluded that family disruption had a more significant impact on male than on female identity formation. Protinsky's (1988) study indicated that adolescents from intact (two-parent) families tended to have higher identity status in comparison with youths from single-parent homes. A possible explanation for this finding is provided by Kennemore and Wineberg (1984) who point out that mothers and adolescent sons in families of divorce tend to develop an intense intimacy that, in time, produces symptoms in the adolescent and serious relationship problems in the family.

Overview of Identity Status Research

My review of the identity status research, summarized above, indicates that the conceptualized gradual transition from identity diffusion and foreclosure, through an identity crisis period known as moratorium, to identity achievement is not strongly supported. There is support for such a developmental continuum in career identity but not in ideology. Many late adolescents remain in one status or another throughout their college career, while others move on to other 'higher' or 'lower' identity statuses. However, there is mounting evidence that the course of identity formation in females is different from that in males. In females, the two 'committed' statuses (foreclosure and identity achieved) appear to be linked, and the relationship themes of attachment and connectedness seem to be most important to female identity development. In males, an identity crisis is viewed as necessary for identity development, and therefore, the moratorium and identity achieved statuses are regarded as the higher statuses. Also, male identity formation stresses the more individualistic themes of separateness and autonomy.

Research also indicates that each identity status has its own, more or less unique, set of personality correlates and social antecedents. Diffusion subjects are generally viewed as being more impulsive and withdrawn, as feeling out of place in the world, and as having difficulty with authority. Their parents are described as distant and rejecting. Foreclosures are the least anxious but are also the least autonomous. They tend to be more self-critical and more dependent on social, especially parental, approval. Foreclosed adolescents describe their parents as accepting and encouraging, as well as dominant and controlling. The most anxious, competitive, unstable, and the least satisfied adolescents are those in the moratorium status. They also tend to have the most difficulty with authority and describe their parents as disappointed in and disapproving of them. Finally, identity achieved youths have the highest level of self-esteem, the most positive self-concepts, and the best study habits. They tend to related well with, but are not particularly close to, their parents; they tend to reject compliance to authority, but are ethical and empathic in their dealings with others.

Because Marcia's descriptions of each identity status are borne out by the research data linking various personality, relational, and other variables to each status, I conclude that the identity status constructs are valid. However, I also conclude that each identity status represents a unique method of dealing with identity issues. Change from one method (status) to another does occur, but not necessarily in the direction hypothesized by Erikson and Marcia. As Newman and Newman (1984) suggested, the process of identity formation is a dynamic integration of individual competences and aspirations rather than a clear progression through distinct stages.

In critique of the identity status research, it is important to note that, other than Waterman and Waterman's studies of college students' identity status changes over the four years of their college experience, very few truly longitudinal studies have been conducted. Most studies that have examined the developmental progression of identity formation have used a cross-sectional design. In addition, most studies have not attempted to distinguish between male and female identity patterns. Also, even though it appears that the same sex parent has a more profound influence on the identity development of adolescents, very few studies have attempted to examine this relationship. In those studies that have examined familial antecedents of adolescent identity development, most have obtained only retrospective adolescent perceptions of parent child-rearing practises; actual parental input was not solicited. The recent studies by Grotevant and his colleagues are notable exceptions in this regard (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986; Thorbecke & Grotevant, 1982).

Most studies of adolescent identity formation have used college student subjects, while some have focused on junior and senior high school students. It is difficult to compare these studies because, in my view, identity may have a very different meaning to early as opposed to late adolescents. Also, most studies with college populations include a rather wide age range, usually age 18 to 24 and, in some cases, adults were included. Thus, it is often difficult to determine whether the reported relationships between identity status and other variables are due to differences in identity development or simply the product of the relatively large age differences between subjects.

Several writers including Erikson, have suggested that the family is the primary social context within which adolescent identity formation takes place. Although Erikson emphasized the importance of the social context of identity formation, he infers a rather passive role for the family, indicating that for identity formation to proceed, it is necessary to achieve some degree of psychological separation from the parents. Perhaps for this reason, relatively little research attention has been devoted to the role of the family in identity exploration, and that which has been done, has generally used only adolescent, retrospective data. Therefore, as Waterman (1982) pointed out, the presumed links between family processes and adolescent identity formation have not been adequately determined. In my view, the individual changes that are part of the process of identity formation and the corresponding, simultaneous changes in family relationships and family structure that occur in the family with adolescent children can best be understood from the perspective of family systems theory.

Family Systems Theory

The family systems perspective, which is derived from Bertalanffy's General Systems Theory (1968), has been applied to human systems by Bateson (1972, 1979), Haley (1980, 1987), S. Minuchin (1974), Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967) and others. According to this view, the family is seen as an organized whole, made up of interdependent parts referred to as subsystems. Each individual family member is both a subsystem and a member of several other subsystems including the spouse, parent, parent-child, sibling, male, female, grandparent, grandparent-child and possibly other subsystems. Central to family systems theory is the notion that the individual can only be understood in context--specifically, in the context of the relations in which one participates and which affect one's behaviour and development. Patterns of relationship and interaction are perceived as being circular rather than linear. Thus, in systems theory, the behaviours and changing developmental needs of one family member, or of one subsystem, are seen as affecting and, in turn, being affected by, the behaviours and developmental needs of other members and subsystems, in circular fashion. The behaviours of one part of the family system stimulate reactions in other parts, and these, in turn, provide feedback to the initial behaviours--facilitating, modifying, or interfering with them.

According to family systems theory, the family is characterized as being in a state of equilibrium between the need to resist change and the need to adjust to new situations. Systems have both homeostatic features, which maintain the stability of the family patterns and which resist changes in the family equilibrium; and morphogenic qualities, which permit evolution and change. The homeostatic characteristics serve a self-regulating function, particularly when the behaviour of one member or of one subsystem departs too far from the family's accepted norm. However, at times, the system has to deviate from its established patterns in order to accommodate to changing individual and subsystem needs and behaviours. In doing so, the system finds a new, usually more complex, equilibrium.

Within the family system, subsystems are separated by boundaries, and all interactions across the boundaries are governed by implicit rules, roles, and relationship patterns. These boundaries are more or less flexible and permeable. Ideally, they will change over time as a function of individual and family development and as a function of changes in work, school, and community.

In well-functioning or 'healthy' families, the inevitable adjustments in family processes and boundaries, necessitated by situational or developmental changes, are made with relative ease, usually after a period of mild resistance to change (Beavers, 1982; Haley, 1980, 1987; Fisher, Giblin, & Hoopes, 1982; S. Munuchin, 1974; Munuchin & Fishman, 1981; Walsh, 1982). However, at times, in some families, the need to maintain established patterns, and the self-regulatory processes required to do so, are over-emphasized and change is strongly resisted. This usually produces symptomatic, maladaptive behaviour in one or more family members because the rigidly maintained patterns no longer apply to the family's changed circumstances. Also, in some dysfunctional families, boundary issues may create symptomatic behaviours in selected members. The boundaries between some subsystems may be too weak and permeable, resulting in confused and possibly destructive roles and relationships, or they may be too rigid and impermeable, preventing the development of new roles and interfering in relationship-building. Thus, from a family systems perspective, a direct relationship exists between the family's functioning and individual members' behaviour and development.

Family System and Individual Development Perspectives

According to P. Minuchin (1985), the concept of homeostasis is familiar to developmental psychologists, although it has usually been applied to individual functioning. When the concept is used in the context of the systems of which the individual is a part, the homeostatic and morphogenic processes are no longer seen as residing in the individual but in the relationships in which the individual participates, directly and indirectly. P. Minuchin argued that it is not enough to simply view the environment as regulating the behaviour and development of the individual and as keeping it within acceptable bounds. The individual in the family is a powerful contributor to the organized patterns that regulate behaviour. Thus, from P. Minuchin's family systems point of view, human development must be studied in the context of family change.

Grotevant (1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986) proposed a view of adolescent identity formation that incorporates a family systems perspective regarding communication behaviours in the family. He stated that

> In contrast to traditional conceptualizations of adolescence as a time of breaking the parent-child bond, recent evidence supports a view of this period as one of gradual renegotiation between parents and children from the asymmetrical authority of early and middle childhood toward, potentially, a peerlike mutuality in adulthood. (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, p. 415)

Grotevant has argued that adolescent identities are developed in the context of the family's manoeuvring between individuality and connectedness. In

Grotevant's analysis, individuality is a process consisting of behaviours that increase opportunities for separateness (distinctiveness of self from others) and self-assertion (expressing one's own point of view and taking responsibility for communicating it clearly). Connectedness is achieved through mutuality (demonstrations of sensitivity to and respect for the views of others) and permeability (openness and responsiveness to the views of others). According to Cooper, Grotevant and Condon (1983), "the literature on adolescent development in the family tends to emphasize the primacy of either autonomy or connectedness in family relationships" (p. 44). Autonomy is generally seen as more relevant to male identity formation, while connectedness may be more involved in female psychosocial development. However, research conducted by Grotevant and Cooper and their colleagues (Cooper, Grotevant, Moore, & Condon, 1983, 1984) indicates that both individuality and connectedness in family relationships are important in adolescent development. They suggest that the individuation process

> is facilitated by individuated family relationships, characterized by separateness, which gives the adolescent permission to develop his or her own point of view, in the context of connectedness, which provides a secure base from which the adolescent can explore worlds outside the family. (Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983, p. 56)

Following from Karpel's (1976) description of the process of individuation, by which a person becomes increasingly differentiated from his or her relational context, and the process of fusion--the person's state of imbeddedness in a relational context--Sabatelli and Mazor (1985) argued that the family systems and individual development perspectives are compatible and interdependent. They proposed that both individuation and identity formation processes incorporate the individual's efforts towards separation from the family of origin, together with the impact of these separation efforts on the family system. Farley (1979) also pointed out that adolescents typically test the family's tolerance boundaries regarding fusion and individuation, thereby putting the family into a state of disequilibrium and crisis.

Sabatelli and Mazor (1985) described a morphogenic property of family systems, which they referred to as differentiation, that, they argued, encourages a pattern of family cohesion and adaptability. According to their conceptualization, poorly-differentiated family systems are enmeshed and emphasize fusion. In this situation, each individual may lose his or her separate identity because of the blurring of self-other boundaries. Conversely, well-differentiated families are balanced and permit both optimal cohesion and optimal adaptability for coping with life's stresses. The balanced level of cohesion in such families encourages feelings of separateness and connectedness, while the balanced level of adaptability encourages family members to function as a group without losing their individuality. Thus, in Sabatelli and Mazor's view, individuation is a developmental concept referring to individual changes occurring in the context of the family system while differentiation is seen as a property of the family system that facilitates and that is, in turn, modified by the individuals' efforts towards individuation.

In summary, from the perspective of family systems theory, adolescent identity exploration is seen as having family system implications and its regulation (direction, course, and duration) is viewed as occurring in the interplay of family homeostatic and morphogenic processes in which the individual plays a significant role. There are relatively few research studies in the identity status literature that incorporate the family systems perspective. Therefore, the interplay of family homeostatic and morphogenic processes that relate to adolescent identity formation have not been adequately determined. Most studies to date have examined the relation between family communication variables and identity formation. In the next section of the chapter, I will summarize the findings of these studies.

Family Systems and Adolescent Identity Research

Studies by Hauser et al., (1984) and Powers, Hauser, Schwartz, Noam, and Jacobson (1983) indicate that identity development is enhanced by family communication patterns, referred to as "cognitive enabling", that encourage and support expressions of independent thought and perception. Conversely, "constraining" interaction patterns, in which parents actively resist differentiation behaviours, result in lower adolescent identity levels. Hauser et al. also found that change-resistant families were more likely to have adolescents with lower levels of identity development.

Similarly, Cooper, Grotevant, Moore, and Condon (1984) found that adolescents from families with marital subsystems described as "individuated"--

high in connectedness and individuality--were able to engage in identity exploration that went beyond simple fulfilment of parental aspirations. Youths from families with "disengaged" marriages--low in both connectedness and individuality--were able to explore identity issues but were rather poor in assuming age-appropriate roles. Families with "enmeshed" marital subsystems--high in connectedness but low in individuality--had adolescents who were impaired in identity exploration (Cooper, Grotevant, Moore, & Condon, 1984). No relationship between adolescent identity exploration and family communication patterns was found in families with "conflictual" marriages that were low in connectedness and high in individuality.

Bosma and Gerrits (1985) found that families of identity achieved adolescents were more autonomous in their speech patterns than were families of diffused youths. Also, adolescents in identity achieved families were more actively engaged in speaking with their parents, and their parents were more prepared to express their attitudes about the adolescent member's autonomy.

The studies outlined above were concerned primarily with assessing family communication patterns as indicators of some important family system characteristics. The two studies reviewed next used paper and pencil measures to assess selected family process variables considered to be relevant to adolescent identity development. Campbell, Adams, and Dobson (1984) gathered data from male and female adolescents and their parents regarding their perceptions about the levels of connectedness and individuality in the family and their views regarding family communications. They found that a moderate level of perceived affectional ties between adolescents and their mothers and a reasonable degree of independence from fathers, were the most important family relationship correlates associated with establishing a moratorium or achieved status in adolescence; high degrees of perceived attachment and low independence were correlated with the foreclosure status; and low levels of attachment and moderate to low independence were related to identity diffusion. These findings are very similar to those reported in studies where adolescent perceptions of parent child-rearing practices were obtained.

In a study similar to mine, but reported in the literature after I had begun my research, Watson and Protinsky (1988) measured the identity statuses of black adolescents and used Olson's measure of family cohesion and adaptability (Olson, Portner, & Lavee, 1985) to study the relationship between these family process variables and identity status. The predicted positive relationship between identity status and balanced or mid-range levels of family cohesion and adaptability was not supported. Only with respect to the foreclosure status was the expected positive relationship with family cohesion found--connected and enmeshed families were more likely to promote adolescent identification with parental ideals and attitudes. An unexpected, weak, but significant, positive correlation was also found between cohesion scores and achieved status.

The theoretical and empirical literature linking the family systems and individual development perspectives suggest that family behavioural and communications patterns that promote a balance between separateness (individuality) and connectedness, in a context which permits and adapts to change, are most conducive to adolescent identity exploration. Olson's circumplex model of marital and family functioning (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1979; Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983; Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1983) provides a way of understanding how the homeostatic and morphogenic characteristics of families impact on individual and family development. Olson's model combines the constructs of family cohesion and family adaptability with the facilitating dimension of family communications. In my view, the model provides a useful means of understanding and studying adolescent identity formation in the context of the family. A review of the circumplex model will be provided in the next section of the chapter.

Olson's Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems

Olson and his colleagues (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1979) surveyed the family systems literature and found that the most significant concepts generally used to explain marital and family dynamics were family cohesion, family adaptability, and family communications. Olson's circumplex model (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1979; Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983; Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1983) is built around these concepts.

Dimensions of Family Functioning

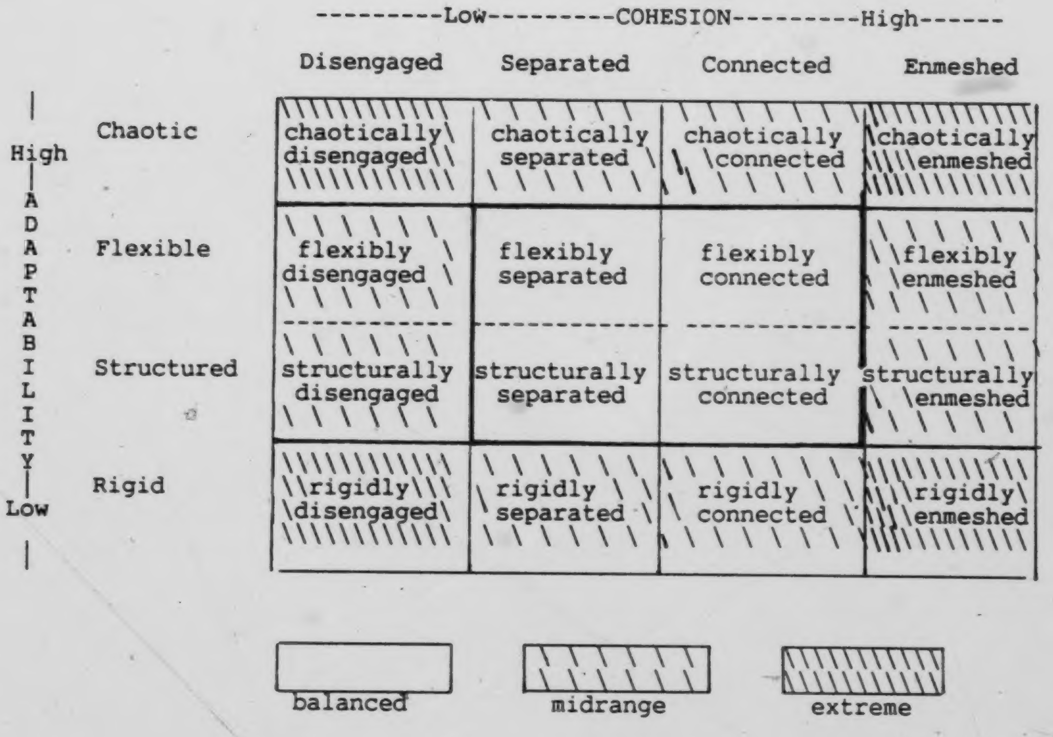
Family cohesion. The family cohesion dimension is defined as "the emotional bonding that family members have toward one another" (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983, p. 48). The cohesion factor includes such variables as emotional bonding, family boundaries, coalitions, use of time and space, involvement with friends, decision-making, and interests and recreation. The circumplex model includes four levels of cohesiveness ranging from disengaged (very low) to separate (low to moderate) to connected (moderate to high) to enmeshed (very high). Olson hypothesized that the two central levels of cohesion--separated and connected--are most conducive to family living and that the two extreme levels--disengaged and enmeshed--are problematic. In enmeshed families, there is over-identification--loyalty to and consensus within the family prevents individuation of family members (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983). In disengaged families, members are so strongly encouraged to be independent and autonomous that there is little attachment or commitment to the family. Like Grotevant and Cooper (1985, 1986), Olson's model conceptualizes a balance of separateness and connectedness in the family as permitting individual family members to experience independence within the context of family attachments.

Family adaptability. Family adaptability, which refers to the family's ability to change and adapt as it moves through the family life cycle, is defined by Olson as "the ability of a marital or family system to change its power structure, role relationships, and relationship rules in response to situational and developmental stress." (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983, p. 48). Related concepts include family power (assertiveness, control, discipline), negotiation style, role relationships, and relationship rules. As with the cohesion dimension, Olson conceptualizes four levels of adaptability: rigid (very low), structured (low to moderate), flexible (moderate to high), and chaotic (very high). Again, the two central levels of adaptability--structured and flexible--are considered the most conducive to marital and family functioning, while the extremes--rigid and chaotic--are problematic for families. Rigid family systems are unable to adapt, and therefore, they resist changes necessitated by developmental and situational circumstances. Chaotic families are characterized by extreme variability, shifting roles and rules, and an absence of control and leadership. Balanced (mid-level) families are able to adapt when necessary, and to resist change when that is most beneficial to the system and to its members.

Family communication. The family communication factor in Olson's model is viewed as a facilitating dimension (Barnes & Olson, 1985; Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983). Positive communications, such as reflective listening and the communication of empathy and support, enable families to share their changing needs and to resolve difficulties involving family cohesion and adaptability. Negative communications--double messages, double binds, and criticism--tend to restrict movement on the cohesion and adaptability dimensions.

Family Types

Olson's circumplex model is depicted graphically in Figure 1. Combining


---------Low---------COHESION---------High------
High
ADAPTABILITY
Low
balanced
midrange
extreme

	Disengaged	Separated	Connected	Enmeshed
Chaotic	chaotically disengaged	chaotically separated	chaotically connected	chaotically enmeshed
Flexible	flexibly disengaged	flexibly separated	flexibly connected	flexibly enmeshed
Structured	structurally disengaged	structurally separated	structurally connected	structurally enmeshed
Rigid	rigidly disengaged	rigidly separated	rigidly connected	rigidly enmeshed

Figure 1. Circumplex model: sixteen types of marital and family systems

the cohesion and adaptability dimensions resulted in the identification of sixteen family system types. Olson indicates that some types will occur much more frequently than others, the four central (balanced) types being the most common. In addition to the four balanced family types, Olson has identified four extreme types (extreme on both dimensions) and eight mid-range types (extreme on one dimension, mid-range on the other).

Olson hypothesized that families with moderate or balanced levels of both cohesion and adaptability "will generally function more adequately across the family life cycle than those at extremes of these dimensions" (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkel, 1983, p. 73) and that families "will function most adequately if there is a high level of congruence between the perceived and ideal descriptions for all family members" (74). Olson also proposed that balanced families will use more positive communications and will therefore also be more able than families at the extremes of these dimensions, to change their levels of cohesion and adaptability. Additionally, Olson suggested that, "to deal with situational stress and developmental changes across the family life cycle, balanced families will change their cohesion and adaptability, whereas extreme families will resist change over time" (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1983, p. 74). Thus, the circumplex model hypothesizes a curvilinear relationship with effective family functioning.

However, another of Olson's hypotheses acknowledges the importance of the degree to which family members are satisfied with their perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability. Olson states that "if the normative expectations of a couple or family support behaviors extreme on one or both of the Circumplex dimensions, they will function well as long as all family members accept these expectations" (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1983, p. 73). Thus, families from certain cultural, ethnic or other backgrounds, which, for example, strongly value family togetherness (enmeshment), will function well as long as all family members agree with the family's expectations regarding cohesion and adaptability.

Olson's circumplex model of marital and family systems is an attempt to integrate systems theory with individual and family development perspectives (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1983). The model is therefore a very useful one in studying the relationships between family processes and family and adolescent development. In order to facilitate such research studies, Olson and his colleagues developed a variety of paper and pencil research instruments to assess family cohesion and adaptability, family satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability, and other family process variables (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1985). Two of Olson's instruments will be reviewed in the next chapter. In the final section of this chapter, a brief review of identity development theory and Olson's circumplex model are presented, together with my conceptualization of the relationships between adolescent identity development and family process variables, namely, cohesion, adaptability, and family satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability.

Implications of Olson's Model for Identity Development

According to Erikson, late adolescence is a critical period for identity development. Growth in ego-identity is thought to occur through personal exploration of attitudes, values, and beliefs, particularly in the areas of occupations, politics, and religion. Commitment to a set of ideals in these areas, following a period of active exploration of alternative beliefs, constitutes the achievement of an identity.

Erikson's theoretical conceptualization of the identity formation process is operationalized by Marcia's identification of four, distinct, identity statuses based on the self-reported presence or absence of exploration and commitment. Diffusion is the status assigned to youths who express no immediate interest in exploring occupational, political, or religious values and report little or no personal commitment to such ideals. Foreclosed adolescents, however, express a commitment to their parents' beliefs and values through a simple identification process, without having examined the meaning that their parents' beliefs may have for them and without having explored alternative beliefs. Youths who are engaged in questioning parental and other beliefs, and who are searching for self-defined commitments to religious, political, and career perspectives, are said to be engaged in a psychosocial moratorium. Adolescents who move through this questioning and searching stage, and form commitments to specific ideals and values in the areas of career, politics, and religion are identity-achieved.

Many developmental studies with late adolescents support the theoretical assumption that individual differences exist in identity formation. However, rather than supporting Marcia's original notion of a developmental continuum from identity diffusion and foreclosure through moratorium to identity achievement, currently, the four statuses are viewed as unique methods of dealing with identity issues.

In my view, identity development occurs within a psychosocial context, and the context of most importance to this process is the family. Therefore, certain family process variables are expected to play a significant role in determining the nature and degree of identity exploration and commitment of late adolescents. Some recent studies of adolescent identity formation have supported this view (e.g. Adams & Fitch, 1982). Several survey, interview, and observational studies have identified significant differences in perceived child-rearing experiences (e.g. Adams & Jones, 1983; Enright et al., 1980) and in observed parent-adolescent communications (e.g. Cooper, Grotevant, Moore, & Condon, 1984) for youths in the various identity statuses. In reviewing the contribution of the family to adolescent identity development, Grotevant (1983) concluded that identity formation is facilitated by a balance between family connectedness and the encouragement of individuality in family discourse.

In Olson's circumplex model, curvilinear relationships between family cohesion and adaptability and various measures of family functioning are predicted. According to Olson, a healthy family system enjoys moderate, rather cohesion and adaptability and various measures of family functioning are predicted. According to Olson, a healthy family system enjoys moderate, rather than extreme, levels of both cohesion and adaptability, although some "mid-range" or even extreme families may function well as long as all members are satisfied with the degree of cohesion and adaptability that the family has. Such balanced families have a moderate degree of stability or resistance to change as well as the ability to change their cohesion and adaptability during periods of situational or developmental stress. According to Olson, when faced with developmental or other situational crises, a well-functioning family will shift its cohesion and adaptability to accommodate or adjust to the crisis. Olson states that, when one family member desires change, the family system must deal with the request and, he adds, it is expected therefore, that the stage of the family life cycle and composition of the family will have considerable impact on the type of family system that exists (Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983).

In my view, the stage in the family life cycle during which adolescents strive to achieve a separate identity, sometimes referred to as the "launching" stage (Carter & McGoldrick, 1988), is one in which the balance between connectedness and separateness in the family's emotional bonding, and between structure and flexibility in the family's power hierarchy must shift to accommodate the adolescent's identity search. To encourage (or tolerate) the adolescent's exploration of different values and ideologies in the areas of occupation, politics, and religion, the family must increasingly shift the balance shifts, or course, threaten family unity and the family's power structure. Old rules are broken and relationships strained. The family experiences stress, particularly in the parent-adolescent dyads.

I suggest that a family which cannot adapt to this developmental stress by providing more flexibility in its power structures, rules, and role relationships, or which cannot decrease the degree of closeness, particularly between the parents and adolescents, will typically attempt to prevent such changes by becoming more rigid, more enmeshed, or both. Identity exploration, the necessary precursor to later identity formation, is thus discouraged. Adolescents in such families may express little or no interest in exploring occupational alternatives, religious beliefs, and political ideologies, and will thus be identity diffused, or they may accept and commit themselves to their parents' values and beliefs without exploring alternatives as youth in the foreclosed status.

In families that are able to tolerate shifts to greater flexibility and separateness, adolescents will be able to enter into a psychosocial moratorium by exploring alternative values and ideals, even though this may increase the stress within the family. Eventually, such youths will be able to achieve a sense of personal identity by forming a commitment to a set of religious, political, and occupational values that may or may not be similar to those of their parents. When this is accomplished, the family may once again shift back to more balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability as adolescents and parents renegotiate family rules, roles, and relationships.

Relatively little research examining the relationship between identity status and family process variables has been reported. That which has been done has focused primarily on family communication patterns. Very few studies have, as yet, examined the relationship between other family process variables and identity status. Olson's circumplex model presents some interesting ways of looking at identity formation in the family. A study by Watson and Protinsky (1988), which used Olson's Model and one of the instruments designed by Olson and his colleagues, (reported after my research had begun), included only black youths of high school age (Grades 9 through 12). Parental input about the family was not solicited. Also, the presumed interactional effects of family satisfaction with perceived levels of family cohesion and adaptability was not studied. Finally, the results of Watson and Protinsky's study were only marginally successful in demonstrating that family cohesion and family adaptability have predictive utility for adolescent ego-identity.

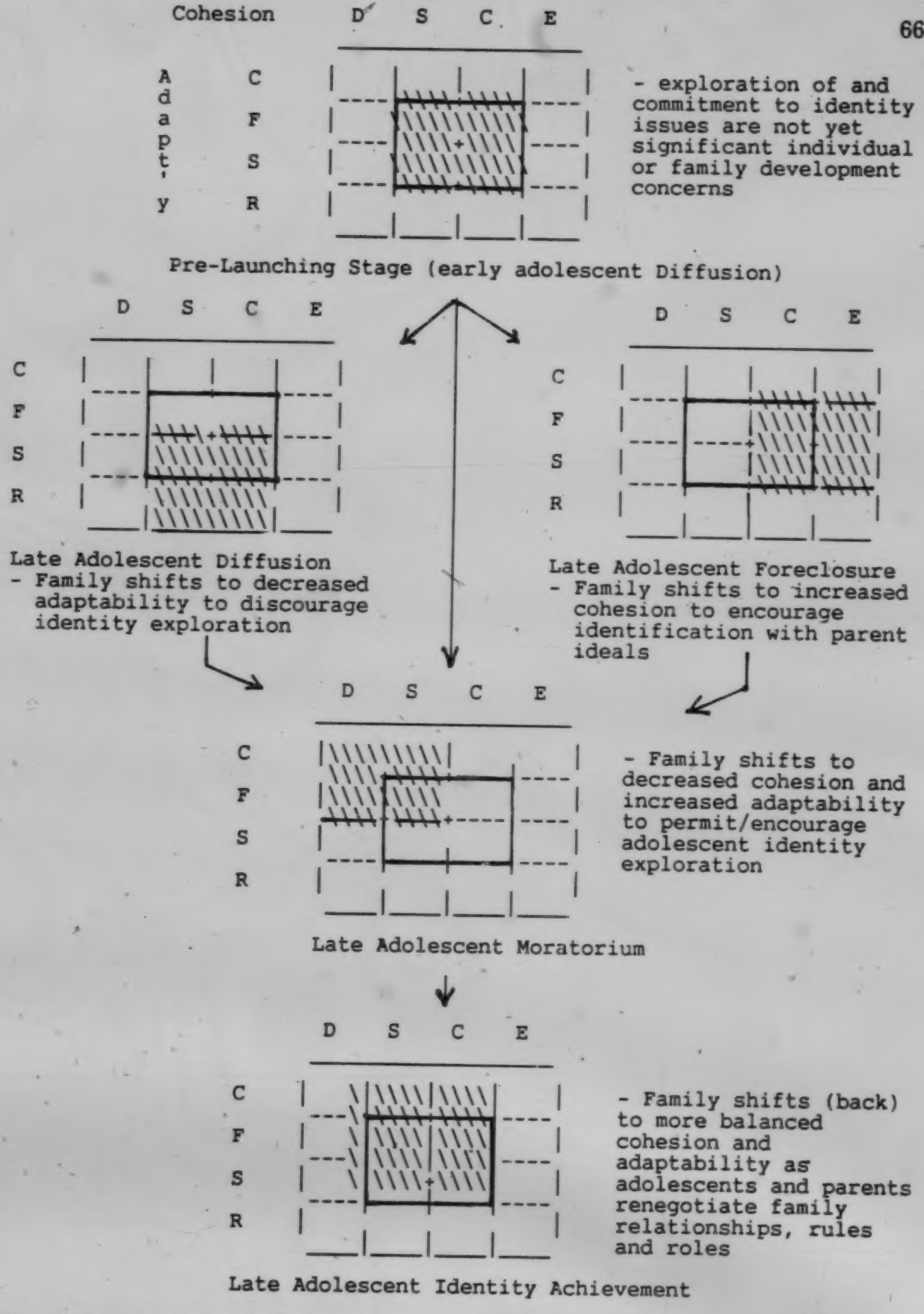
Overview of My Study

In my study, I viewed (a) family cohesion, (b) family adaptability, (c) family members' satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability, and (d) the degree of recent stress in the parent-adolescent relationship, as important family process variables related to the degree of identity exploration and commitment of late adolescent youths. Consequently, I obtained late adolescent and their parents' conceptions of these family variables, together with the adolescents' self-perceived identity explorations and commitments. The subjects of my study were primarily 18 and 19 year old youths and their parents, from "normal" or non-clinical families that were, presumably, functioning adequately at the late adolescent or launching stage of the family life cycle. On the basis of the hypotheses Olson derived from his circumplex model, I assumed that a majority of families would be balanced or mid-range with respect to the dimensions of cohesion and adaptability and that the members of the smaller number of extreme families would generally be satisfied with their perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability.

It is my view that family shifts to decreased levels of cohesion and increased adaptability coincide with late adolescent identity exploration. As does Erikson, I believe that late adolescents' heightened interest in alternative beliefs will generally pose a threat to family stability and togetherness. Therefore, I predict that some families will try to prevent or, at least, to delay this family crisis by emphasizing more rigid enforcement of family rules and role expectations (decreased adaptability), and/or by emphasizing family togetherness (increased cohesion). Families that resist their adolescent members' identity explorations by increasing cohesiveness, will, thereby, encourage the adolescent to more strongly identify with traditional parental beliefs and ideals, resulting in foreclosed youths. Families that emphasize more rigid adherence to family rules and role relationships will have primarily identity-diffused adolescents. However, because adolescents must, at some time, explore alternative beliefs to achieve a separate and unique identity, I further predict that, in time, many late adolescents will enter a psychosocial moratorium stage, and that the family, to permit this individual change, will undertake to make the appropriate shifts to decreased cohesiveness and increased adaptability. In some families, these changes may be significantly delayed, not occurring until the youth is much older and has (finally) left home.

In summary, I expect those 18 to 19 year old youths whose families are attempting to delay the psychosocial crisis of late adolescence by shifting either to reduced adaptability or to increased cohesion, will be, respectively, in the diffusion and foreclosure statuses. Other youths, whose families have shifted towards lower cohesion and higher adaptability, will be experiencing an identity crisis (moratorium status). I also expect that a small number of 18 to 19 year old youths will have achieved a unique identity and will be renegotiating the family rules, roles, and relationships with their parents. I expect such families to be balanced on the cohesion and adaptability dimensions.

The family changes described above, based on Olson's circumplex model, are depicted in Figure 2. Because my model suggests that changes in adolescent identity scores will correspond with shifts in family processes, hypotheses derived from my model would best be studied longitudinally. In a longitudinal study, frequent observations of changes in family patterns and in individual identity-related behaviours could be made, and these would provide a clear perspective of the shifts in both processes that occur over time. However,



- exploration of and commitment to identity issues are not yet significant individual or family development concerns

Pre-Launching Stage (early adolescent Diffusion)

Late Adolescent Diffusion
- Family shifts to decreased adaptability to discourage identity exploration

Late Adolescent Foreclosure
- Family shifts to increased cohesion to encourage identification with parent ideals

- Family shifts to decreased cohesion and increased adaptability to permit/encourage adolescent identity exploration

Late Adolescent Moratorium

- Family shifts (back) to more balanced cohesion and adaptability as adolescents and parents renegotiate family relationships, rules and roles

Late Adolescent Identity Achievement

Figure 2. Hypothesized changes in family cohesion and adaptability during late adolescent identity formation stages

because of the limited time I had to conduct my research, I chose to conduct a correlational study to examine the relationships between youths' identity scores and their family perceptions of family cohesion and adaptability at a single point in time in the family life cycle. Thus, rather than a 'movie' depicting the individual and family changes over time, I planned to obtain a single 'snapshot' of families and youths during the late adolescent stage of the family life cycle. Therefore, I developed four hypotheses, based on my model, which do not incorporate the notion of family and individual developmental shifts, but which describe the relationships I expected to find between the identity scores of late adolescents, and the family cohesion and adaptability scores obtained from them and their parents.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Family Cohesion and Adolescent Identity Scores.

Adolescents in families with lower cohesion scores on Olson's FACES III instrument (Olson, Portner, & Lavee, 1985) will generally have higher moratorium scores on Adams' Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS), (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979); adolescents in families with midrange or balanced cohesion scores will have higher diffusion and achievement scores; and adolescents in families with higher cohesion scores will have higher foreclosure scores.

Hypothesis 2. Family Adaptability and Adolescent Identity Scores.

Adolescents in families with lower adaptability scores on Olson's FACES III instrument, will generally have higher diffusion scores on Adams' OM-EIS; adolescents in families with midrange or balanced adaptability scores will have higher foreclosure and achievement scores; and adolescents in families with higher adaptability scores will have higher moratorium scores.

Hypothesis 3. Family Satisfaction and Adolescent Identity Scores. In accordance with Olson's hypothesis regarding the mediating effect of family satisfaction on the functioning of extreme families, I predict that family satisfaction will interact with family cohesion and with family adaptability in determining the identity statuses of late adolescent family members. Families that are extreme on Olson's measures of family cohesion and family adaptability, but whose members are satisfied with their perceived levels of cohesion and/or adaptability, will be similar to balanced families. Thus, I predict that satisfied enmeshed and disengaged families (extreme on cohesion), like balanced families, will have youths with higher achievement and diffusion scores. Similarly, I predict that satisfied rigid and chaotic families (extreme on adaptability), like balanced families, will have youths with higher foreclosure and achievement scores.

Hypothesis 4. Parent-Adolescent Stress and Family and Identity Variables. Because of the stress created in the family when the family shifts its cohesion and adaptability, either to permit adolescent identity exploration or to discourage and delay it, youths in families with lower levels of cohesion and/or lower levels of adaptability will report more parent-adolescent stress than youths in families with higher levels of cohesion and/or higher levels adaptability. Correspondingly, adolescents with higher moratorium and diffusion scores on the OM-EIS will report more parent-adolescent stress in comparison to youths with higher foreclosure and achievement scores.

I do not anticipate high levels of parent-adolescent stress in families with high cohesion because my first hypothesis suggests that, in such families, adolescents typically identify with their parents' values and thereby avoid many conflicts. Also, I do not anticipate high levels of parent-adolescent stress in families with high adaptability because the reduction in parental role expectations and relationship rules in such families will likely meet with most adolescents' approval, thereby avoiding conflicts.

In this chapter, I presented a review of the theoretical and research literature relevant to my study's hypotheses. In my next chapter, I will outline the methods I used to test my hypotheses.

CHAPTER 3

Methods

In this chapter, I will outline the methods used to test my hypotheses. After discussing my research design, I will provide a description of the subjects, materials, and procedures used to gather data relevant to my hypotheses.

Overview

My study was designed primarily to investigate the relationships between late adolescent identity exploration and commitment and the family process variables of cohesion and adaptability. I also evaluated the relation between youths' identity and family members' satisfaction with their perceived levels of family cohesion and adaptability and the degree of parent-adolescent stress in the family. The scores obtained by 18- and 19-year old youths on the diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achieved scales of Adams' Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS) were treated as the dependent variables. The independent or predictor variables were (a) the scores obtained by the youths, their parent(s), and the family as a whole, on the cohesion and adaptability scales of Olson's Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES III); (b) the individual members' and family's scores on Olson's Family Satisfaction instrument; and (c) the youths' scores on selected items taken from McCubbin's Adolescent-Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (A-FILE). Because the variables under consideration could not be manipulated experimentally, the study used an ex-post-facto research design. The independent and dependent variables were measured concurrently. Correlation coefficients and analysis of variance were used to analyze the date.

Pilot Study

A small scale pilot study was conducted for three reasons. First, because the instruments used in the study were to be completed by adolescents and parents in their homes, it was important that the instructions and the wording used in each of the questionnaires be clear. Second, I was interested in participants' comments about the length of the questionnaire and in their reactions to the types of information they were being asked to provide. I assumed that the rate of return would be reduced if participants considered the task too time consuming or the questions too intrusive. Third, conducting the pilot study provided me with an opportunity to become familiar with the scoring procedures described by the authors of the various test instruments.

Pilot Study Subjects.

Four 18-year old youths and one 19-year old--two males and three females--and their parents (15 individuals in total) agreed to complete the various questionnaires. One adolescent subject was in Grade 12 in a local high school, two were attending the University of Alberta, and two were enrolled at a post-secondary college in Edmonton. There were three first-born, one second-born, and one third-born adolescents in my pilot study sample, and all youths were living at home. All parents were married and represented a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds.

Pilot Study Instruments.

The package of test materials included (a) the second version of Olson's Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES II), (Olson, Portner, & Bell, 1982); (b) Adams' Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OM-EIS), (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979), slightly modified by me to ensure that my subjects would understand the questions asked; (c) McCubbin, Patterson, Baumann, and Harris' (1981) Adolescent-Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (A-FILE); (d) Moos' (1974) Family Environment Scale (FES); and (e) a demographic questionnaire that I designed to obtain relevant descriptors of my sample. I had previously obtained written consent from the authors or copyright holders of the tests I used, as well as Adams' consent to the slight modifications in wording for the OM-EIS. Packaged with the test materials were written instructions and a stamped, self-addressed envelope, provided so that participants could return the completed questionnaires to me. The completed materials were returned anonymously. I then solicited, either by telephone or in a personal interview, the youths' and parents' comments regarding the instructions, length of the questionnaires, and the wording and nature of the questions they were asked to answer. I scored the various instruments according to the scoring procedures outlined by the test authors, and recorded the scores. Only one family in my pilot study sample requested a verbal explanation of their test scores, and I provided this feedback to them in a subsequent interview in their home.

Feedback from the Pilot Study.

On the basis of the feedback I obtained from the fifteen participants in my pilot study, I added three questions about the youths' academic program and educational history to the demographic survey. No other changes were recommended or deemed necessary by the adolescent or parent participants. However, because I subsequently decided to limit the number of independent variables in my study, I decided not to use the data obtained with the FES and to use only nine questions on the A-FILE that relate specifically to parent-adolescent conflict or stress.

In the pilot study, I used Olson's FACES II instrument, and according to the instructions for administering the FACES II, I asked participants to complete the test twice--once to indicate how they currently viewed their family, and a second time to indicate how they would, ideally, like their family to be. The discrepancy between the "real" and "ideal" scores gives an indication of the degree of satisfaction family members have with their perceived levels of family cohesion and adaptability. However, in a subsequent communication with an associate of Dr. Olson, I was advised to replace the FACES II instrument with the new version known as FACES III, and to assess family member's satisfaction with perceived levels of cohesion and adaptability with the Family Satisfaction scale. The reasons given for these recommendations were that FACES III is a shorter version of the instrument, with improved statistical properties, and that the Family Satisfaction instrument is less affected by social desirability than the "ideal" scale of FACES II.

The Main Study

Sampling and Recruitment.

One of my objectives in designing my study was to obtain a relatively large and representative sample of late adolescent youths and parents from fairly typical or "normal" families. For the purposes of my study, the criterion I used to determine normality was that the late adolescent subjects were employed or were enrolled in a high school, college, or university program. Also, for the purposes of my study, I defined late adolescence as the relatively brief transition period between the stage in the family life cycle referred to as the 'families with adolescents' stage (Stage Four), and the stage known as 'launching families' (Stage Five) (Hill & Rodgers, 1964; Olson, McCubbin, et al., 1983). According to Olson, families with children between 13 and 18 years of age are Stage Four families, whereas families with children age 19 and older are Stage Five families. Therefore, in this study, youths age 18 (or almost 18) and 19 (or just over 19) were selected to represent the transition period between these two stages. Most studies to date have included wider age ranges, usually junior and senior high school samples (age 12 to 18) or college samples (age 18 to 24). In this study, the effect of age as a potential confounding variable was reduced by restricting the sample to a rather narrow age range. However, because of the family and individual developmental changes expected to occur at this transition stage, I anticipate that the variance in the independent and dependent variables would be maximized by using subjects at the 18 to 19 year old age range.

In an attempt to recruit both working youths and students, I placed advertisements in three local newspapers and on the community news broadcast of a local radio station. I also asked the Edmonton Association of Community Leagues to place an advertisement in the various community league newsletters. I obtained permission from various college and university professors to recruit students from large, freshman psychology and sociology classes. I made a similar request to the principal of a local, private, high school and received from him the names of all 18- and 19-year old students in the school. I was unable to obtain the consent of the public school board to recruit students in the public high schools, primarily because the board felt that the majority of their students did not meet the age requirement of my study.

Only three individuals responded to the newspaper, radio, and newsletter advertisements, and, when given additional information about the study, they decided not to participate. Consequently, all of the adolescent subjects in my sample were recruited from university, college, and high school classes. I made oral presentations outlining the purpose and nature of my study to three large freshman sociology classes at the University of Alberta, five freshman psychology classes at Concordia college, and one first year psychology class at The King's College. I also spoke to several Grade 12 students from the Edmonton Christian High School, either in person or by telephone.

After explaining the nature and purpose of my study to the students, I invited all interested students to take a large envelope containing the various test materials and an instruction sheet (Appendix B). I also requested that they ask their parents to participate in the study with them and that they complete the various adolescent and parent questionnaires at home. A stamped, self-addressed envelope was provided for the anonymous return of the materials.

The University of Alberta is a large, publicly funded university located in Edmonton, Alberta. Concordia College is a private, accredited liberal arts college, partly funded by the Lutheran Church of Canada and partly by public funds. Concordia college students come from a wide variety of cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, and, despite its links with the Lutheran Church, religious practice or faith commitment is not an entrance criterion. The King's College is a small, private, Christian liberal arts college, and most or all of the students come from families described as active church members. Similarly, the Edmonton Christian High School is a small, private, Christian senior high school. The students in this school receive a Christ-centered education that follows the regular Alberta high school curriculum. I included students from the Edmonton Christian High School, The King's College, and Concordia College in my study because of my personal religious background and because I wanted to include students with a strongly religious, family background in my study, along with those whose family and/or personal histories do not include profession of specific religious beliefs. I considered this factor to be important because exploration of and commitment to a religious ideology is regarded as a significant component of Erikson's description of the process of adolescent identity formation.

Sample. The individuals who participated in my study included 119 adolescents, 104 mothers, and 87 fathers. These individuals represented 119 families. In 86 cases (72%), the questionnaires were completed by all three family members; in 19 cases (16%), questionnaires were completed by the adolescent and only one parent (18 mothers and one father); and in 14 cases (12%), questionnaires were completed by the adolescent alone. Thus, 105 (88%) of the families that responded were represented by an adolescent member and at least one parent. Of the 19 youths who had only one parent participate, in two cases the father was deceased and in five cases the parents were separated or divorced. This left only 12 cases in which the father (or mother) was living in the home but did not complete the questionnaires.

Of the 119 adolescents who participated, 31 (26%) were males and 88 (74%) were females. This distribution appeared to reflect the relative numbers of males and females in the classes from which subjects were obtained. There were five 17-year olds, fifty-six 18-year olds, fifty-two 19-year olds, and six 20-year olds. Seventy-five adolescents (63%) reported that they were living at home with their parent(s); nine (8%) were living with relatives; 24 (20%) were living with friends; and 11 (9%) were living in a college or university residence or in an apartment on their own. There were no married youths included in the sample. With respect to birth order, 51 were first-born, 33 were second-born, 18 were third-born, and 17 were fourth- or later-born.

As I indicated above, four educational institutions provided subjects for my study. Of the 119 youths who participated, 63 (53%) were University of Alberta students, 38 (32%) attended Concordia College, 10 (9%) were from The King's College, and 7 (6%) were in Grade 12 at Edmonton Christian High School.

The 191 parents who participated in the study varied in ages and represented a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds. The age range of fathers was 39 to 67, with a mean age of 49.4 years; the age range of mothers was 37 to 61, with a mean age of 45.7 years. The educational and occupational backgrounds of the parents are described in Table 1.

Although the age range of adolescent subjects was purposely limited to reduce the confounding effects of age, the range of other variables was not restricted in order to achieve sample heterogeneity and, hence, the generalizability of the findings. For example, I included adolescents and families from the variety of ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds that are generally characteristic of the Edmonton and Alberta populations. The educational and occupational backgrounds of the parents involved in the study were also quite varied. In addition, youths who were living at home and those living way from their families were included in my study. Also, the birth order and family sizes reported by adolescent participants varied. Finally, although the sample included only late adolescent students, some high school, college, and

Table 1

Parent's Educational and Occupational Backgrounds

Level	Mothers		Fathers	
	N	%	N	%
	Education			
elementary/jr. high	29	24.8	20	17.5
senior high	21	17.9	22	19.3
trade/technical school	15	12.8	28	24.6
some college/university	20	17.1	11	9.6
university degree	32	27.4	33	28.9
	Occupation			
at home	36	31.0	7	6.3
blue collar	45	38.8	53	47.7
white collar	35	30.2	51	45.9

Social Science, University of Minnesota.

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APPENDIX A

Table A-1

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Diffusion Mean Scores for Four Family Cohesion Levels

Total Population Mean = 15.8571 (N = 105)

Group Means

Disengaged	Separated	Connected	Enmeshed
13.45	16.60	16.36	15.67
(n = 20)	(n = 40)	(n = 39)	(n = 6)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	147.9995	3	49.3332	1.7129	.1691
Within Groups	2908.81577	101	28.8006		

Table A-2

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Foreclosure Mean Scores for Four Family Cohesion Levels

Total Population Mean = 16.4381 (N = 105)

Group Means

Disengaged	Separated	Connected	Enmeshed
16.25	15.58	17.36	16.83
(n = 20)	(n = 40)	(n = 39)	(n = 6)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	64.5149	3	21.5050	1.0268	.3841
Within Groups	2115.3327	101	20.9439		

Table A-3

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Monatorium Mean Scores for Four Family Cohesion Levels

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Total Population Mean = 18.3810 (N = 105)

Group Means

Disengaged	Separated	Connected	Enmeshed
15.85	19.68	18.59	16.83
(n = 20)	(n = 40)	(n = 39)	(n = 6)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	211.1677	3	70.3892	3.8396	.0119*
Within Groups	1851.5942	101	18.3326		

*p <.05.

Table A-4

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Achievement Mean Scores for Four Family Cohesion Levels

Total Population Mean = 23.7238 (N = 105)

Group Means

Disengaged	Separated	Connected	Enmeshed
24.50	23.90	23.23	23.17
(n = 20)	(n = 40)	(n = 39)	(n = 6)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	24.6341	3	8.2114	.4265	.7344
Within Groups	1944.3564	101	19.2511		

Table A-5

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Diffusion Mean Scores for Four Family Adaptability Levels

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Total Population Mean = 15.8571 (N = 105)

Group Means

Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
13.00	17.18	15.05	18.07
(n = 16)	(n = 34)	(n = 40)	(n = 15)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	289.0826	3	96.3609	3.5163	.0179*
Within Groups	2767.7745	101	27.4037		

*$p < .05$.

Table A-6

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Foreclosure Mean Scores for Four Family Adaptability Levels

Total Population Mean = 16.4381 (N = 105)

Group Means

Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
16.19	16.21	16.85	16.13
(n = 16)	(n = 34)	(n = 40)	(n = 15)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	11.0180	3	3.6727	.1710	.9157
Within Groups	2168.8297	101	21.4736		

Table A-7

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Moratorium Mean Scores for Four Family Adaptability Levels

Total Population Mean = 18.3810 (N = 105)

Group Means

Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
15.81	19.06	18.65	18.87
(n = 16)	(n = 34)	(n = 40)	(n = 15)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	127.6087	3	42.5362	2.2201	.0904*
Within Groups	1935.1532	101	19.1599		

*$p < .10$.

Table A-8

One Way Analysis of Variance Between Achievement Mean Scores for Four Family Adaptability Levels

Total Population Mean = 23.7238 (N = 105)

Group Means

Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
24.44	22.00	24.63	24.47
(n = 16)	(n = 34)	(n = 40)	(n = 15)

Source	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	149.9446	3	49.9815	2.7752	.0452*
Within Groups	1819.0458	101	18.0104		

*$p < .05$.

Table A-9

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Adaptability
Dependent Variable - Diffusion Score

Total Population Mean = 15.86 (N = 105)

Group Means		Cohesion	
Adaptability	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
Chaotic	14.00 (n = 1)	20.33 (n = 6)	16.88 (n = 8)
Flexible	13.57 (n = 7)	15.60 (n = 15)	15.17 (n = 18)
Structured	16.29 (n = 7)	17.00 (n = 12)	17.73 (n = 15)
Rigid	9.20 (n = 5)	14.86 (n = 7)	14.50 (n = 4)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Main Effects	397.697	5	79.539	2.875	.019*
Adaptability	252.190	3	84.063	3.038	.033*
Cohesion	108.614	2	54.307	1.963	.146
2-Way Interactions	86.118	6	14.353	.519	.793
Cohes. Adapt'y.	86.118	6	14.353	.519	.793
Explained	483.815	11	43.983	1.590	.115
Residual	2573.042	93	27.667		
Total	3056.857	104	29.393		

*p <.05.

Table A-10

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Adaptability
Dependent Variable - Foreclosure Score

Total Population Mean = 16.44 (N = 105)

Group Means	Cohesion		
Adaptability	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
Chaotic	10.00 (n = 1)	15.50 (n = 6)	17.38 (n = 8)
Flexible	17.57 (n = 7)	15.47 (n = 15)	17.72 (n = 18)
Structured	16.14 (n = 7)	15.25 (n = 12)	17.00 (n = 15)
Rigid	15.80 (n = 5)	16.43 (n = 7)	16.25 (n = 4)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Main Effects	73.828	5	14.766	.670	.647
Adaptability	10.750	3	3.583	.163	.921
Cohesion	62.810	2	31.405	1.426	.246
2-Way Interactions	57.214	6	9.536	.433	.855
Cohes. Adapt'y.	57.214	6	9.536	.433	.855
Explained	131.042	11	11.913	.541	.871
Residual	2048.805	93	22.030		
Total	2179.848	104	20.960		

Table A-11

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Adaptability
Dependent Variable - Moratorium Score

Total Population Mean = 18.38 (N = 105)

Group Means	Cohesion		
Adaptability	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
Chaotic	18.00 (n = 1)	19.50 (n = 6)	18.50 (n = 8)
Flexible	16.00 (n = 7)	20.47 (n = 15)	18.17 (n = 18)
Structured	16.14 (n = 7)	20.00 (n = 12)	19.67 (n = 15)
Rigid	14.80 (n = 5)	17.57 (n = 7)	14.00 (n = 4)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Main Effects	307.028	5	61.406	3.335	.008**
Adaptability	111.902	3	37.301	2.026	.116
Cohesion	179.420	2	89.710	4.872	.010*
2-Way Interactions	43.296	6	7.216	.392	.883
Cohes. Adapt'y.	43.296	6	7.216	.392	.883
Explained	350.324	11	31.848	1.730	.079
Residual	1712.438	93	18.413		
Total	2062.762	104	19.834		

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table A-12

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Adaptability
Dependent Variable - Achievement Score

Total Population Mean = 23.72 (N = 105)

Group Means	Cohesion		
Adaptability	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
Chaotic	17.00 (n = 1)	24.67 (n = 6)	25.25 (n = 8)
Flexible	27.57 (n = 7)	24.20 (n = 15)	23.83 (n = 18)
Structured	22.29 (n = 7)	22.50 (n = 12)	21.47 (n = 15)
Rigid	24.80 (n = 5)	25.00 (n = 7)	23.00 (n = 4)

Source Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Main Effects	176.444	5	35.289	1.972	.090
Adaptability	151.831	3	50.610	2.828	.043*
Cohesion	26.499	2	13.250	.740	.480
2-Way Interactions	128.137	6	21.356	1.193	.317
Cohes. Adapt'y.	128.137	6	21.356	1.193	.317
Explained	304.581	11	27.689	1.547	.128
Residual	1664.410	93	17.897		
Total	1968.990	104	18.933		

*p <.05.

Table A-13

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Diffusion Scores

Total Population Mean = 15.99 (N = 103)

Group Means	Cohesion		
Satisfaction	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
More	27.00 (n = 1)	17.07 (n = 15)	15.53 (n = 34)
Less	12.74 (n = 19)	16.50 (n = 24)	19.80 (n = 10)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	172.433	3	57.478	2.281	.084
Cohesion	167.306	2	83.653	3.319	.040*
Satisfaction	11.290	1	11.290	.448	.505
2-Way Interactions	325.869	2	162.935	6.465	.002**
Cohes. Satisf.	325.869	2	162.935	6.465	.002**
Explained	498.302	5	99.660	3.954	.003**
Residual	2444.688	97	25.203		
Total	2942.990	102	28.853		

* $p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table A-14

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Foreclosure Scores

Total Population Mean = 16.44 (N = 103)

Group Means	Cohesion		
Satisfaction	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
More	11.00 (n = 1)	14.60 (n = 15)	17.21 (n = 34)
Less	16.53 (n = 19)	16.04 (n = 24)	17.90 (n = 10)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	105.618	3	35.206	1.673	.178
Cohesion	103.797	2	51.899	2.466	.090
Satisfaction	31.954	1	31.954	1.518	.221
2-Way Interactions	19.968	2	9.984	.474	.624
Cohes. Satisf.	19.968	2	9.984	.474	.624
Explained	125.586	5	25.117	1.193	.318
Residual	2041.754	97	21.049		
Total	2167.340	102	21.248		

Table A-15

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Moratorium Scores

Total Population Mean = 18.47 (N = 103)

Group Means		Cohesion	
Satisfaction	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
More	21.00 (n = 1)	18.73 (n = 15)	17.47 (n = 34)
Less	15.58 (n = 19)	20.42 (n = 24)	22.00 (n = 10)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	318.196	3	106.065	6.431	.001**
Cohesion	289.226	2	144.613	8.768	.000***
Satisfaction	115.038	1	115.038	6.975	.010*
2-Way Interactions	97.566	2	48.783	2.958	.057
Cohes. Satisf.	97.566	2	48.783	2.958	.057
Explained	415.762	5	83.152	5.042	.000***
Residual	1599.869	97	16.493		
Total	2015.631	102	19.761		

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* $p < .02$. ** $p < .005$. *** $p < .001$.

Table A-16

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Achievement Scores

Total Population Mean = 23.70 (N = 103)

Group Means	Cohesion		
Satisfaction	Disengaged	Separated	Connected/Enmeshed
More	12.00 (n = 1)	24.80 (n = 15)	23.53 (n = 34)
Less	25.16 (n = 19)	23.29 (n = 24)	22.00 (n = 10)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	35.556	3	11.852	.662	.577
Cohesion	35.521	2	17.760	.992	.375
Satisfaction	9.791	1	9.791	.547	.461
2-Way Interactions	193.759	2	96.879	5.412	.006**
Cohes. Satisf.	193.759	2	96.879	5.412	.006**
Explained	229.315	5	45.863	2.562	.032*
Residual	1736.355	97	17.901		
Total	1965.670	102	19.271		

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table A-17

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Diffusion Scores

Total Population Mean = 15.99 ($N = 103$)

Group Means	Adaptability			
Satisfaction	Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
More	13.80 ($n = 5$)	17.40 ($n = 15$)	14.90 ($n = 20$)	18.30 ($n = 10$)
Less	12.70 ($n = 10$)	17.61 ($n = 18$)	15.87 ($n = 23$)	13.50 ($n = 2$)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	246.357	4	61.589	2.213	.073
Cohesion	241.230	3	80.410	2.889	.040*
Satisfaction	.008	1	.008	.000	.987
2-Way Interactions	52.847	3	17.616	.633	.596
Adapt'y. Satisf.	52.847	3	17.616	.633	.596
Explained	299.204	7	42.743	1.536	.165
Residual	2643.786	95	27.829		
Total	2942.990	102	28.853		

* $p < .05$.

Table A-18

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Foreclosure Scores

Total Population Mean = 16.44 (N = 103)

Group Means	Adaptability			
Satisfaction	Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
More	16.40 (n = 5)	15.13 (n = 15)	16.80 (n = 20)	17.00 (n = 10)
Less	15.80 (n = 10)	17.22 (n = 18)	16.83 (n = 23)	11.50 (n = 2)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	12.978	4	3.224	.149	.963
Cohesion	11.157	3	3.719	.171	.916
Satisfaction	1.611	1	1.611	.074	.786
2-Way Interactions	85.713	3	28.571	1.312	.275
Cohes. Satisf.	85.713	3	28.571	1.312	.275
Explained	98.691	7	14.099	.647	.716
Residual	2068.649	95	21.775		
Total	2167.340	102	21.248		

Table A-19

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Moratorium Scores

Total Population Mean = 18.47 (N = 103)

Group Means		Adaptability		
Satisfaction	Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
More	13.60 (n = 5)	19.07 (n = 15)	18.70 (n = 20)	16.80 (n = 10)
Less	16.90 (n = 10)	19.44 (n = 18)	19.43 (n = 23)	20.00 (n = 2)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	191.567	4	47.892	2.535	.045*
Cohesion	162.597	3	54.199	2.869	.041*
Satisfaction	31.176	1	31.176	1.650	.202
2-Way Interactions	29.135	3	9.712	.514	.674
Cohes. Satisf.	29.135	3	9.712	.514	.674
Explained	220.701	7	31.529	1.669	.126
Residual	1794.930	95	18.894		
Total	2015.631	102	19.761		

* p <.05.

Table A-20

Two Way Analysis of Variance - Family Cohesion by Family Satisfaction

Dependent Variable - Achievement Scores

Total Population Mean = 23.70 (N = 103)

Group Means	Adaptability			
Satisfaction	Rigid	Structured	Flexible	Chaotic
More	24.80 (n = 1)	21.47 (n = 15)	24.25 (n = 34)	25.30 (n = 10)
Less	24.20 (n = 10)	22.28 (n = 18)	25.00 (n = 23)	19.50 (n = 2)

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F.	Signif. of F
Main Effects	157.284	4	39.321	2.147	.081
Cohesion	157.248	3	52.416	2.862	.041*
Satisfaction	.375	1	.375	.020	.887
2-Way Interactions	68.292	3	22.764	1.243	.299
Cohes. Satisf.	68.292	3	22.764	1.243	.299
Explained	225.575	7	32.225	1.759	.105
Residual	1740.094	95	18.317		
Total	1965.670	102	19.271		

* p <.05.

APPENDIX B

ADOLESCENT AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT STUDY

This survey is being conducted to gather some information for a study of adolescent and family development. You and your parents are asked to provide some background information about yourselves and your family, as well as your ideas and feelings about topics such as career plans, politics, religion, and family relationships. If it is acceptable to you and your parents, I may also be contacting you in the next few months to arrange a visit to your home to interview you and your parents. The interview, which will be tape-recorded, will explore similar topics, but in greater depth. The identities of all participants, including your own, will remain strictly confidential.

This study is being conducted as part of my work for a doctoral dissertation and is being supervised by Dr. Robert Frender of the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Alberta. His telephone number is 432-3741.

Many people who have participated in studies like this have found the experience to be an enjoyable one. If you are interested in some feedback about your responses, please feel free to contact me at 483-6117 during the evening. I would be pleased to discuss the results of my study with you and your parents after it is completed.

I would appreciate receiving your completed surveys by March 31, 1986. Please use the self-addressed, stamped envelope provided to return the surveys.

BEFORE YOU AND YOUR PARENTS BEGIN COMPLETING THE SURVEYS, PLEASE READ THE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE BLUE SHEET WHICH IS ENCLOSED.

Thank you for your participation.
John Sneep
Department of Educational Psychology
The University of Alberta

INSTRUCTIONS

Enclosed are two large manila envelopes. ENVELOPE ONE contains a survey with five parts, which is TO BE COMPLETED BY YOU. Please complete all five parts (Parts A,B,C,D, and E).

ENVELOPE TWO contains two surveys, one for each of your parents.

In our society, in addition to those young people your age who are (or, until recently, were) living with both of their natural parents, there are also a number of youths whose parents have separated, divorced, or are deceased. Thus, some young people may have only one parent; others may have parents who have remarried or may be living together with another partner.

In this study, you are asked to give the survey forms in Envelope Two to your parents. If you have a single parent, only one parent form will be used. If your natural parents are not currently living together, you may still consider both of them as your parents, even though the parent you are (or have been) living with may have a new partner who is living in the home. In such cases, you may consider three adults to be your parents--your natural parent living elsewhere, your other natural parent and your step-parent living in the home.

PLEASE GIVE THE SURVEY FORMS IN ENVELOPE TWO TO THOSE ONE OR TWO ADULTS WHO HAVE BEEN MOST INVOLVED WITH YOU AS PARENTS.

If one of your parents is not readily available or is unwilling to participate in the survey, please use only one parent form from Envelope Two. The parent's survey forms in Envelope Two contain only two of the five parts you are asked to complete--parts D and E.

The YELLOW FORM is to be completed by your MOTHER (or step-mother). The GREEN FORM is to be completed by your FATHER (or step-father).

If only one parent is available, please return the unused survey form together with the completed ones.

It is very important that you and your parents COMPLETE THE SURVEYS WITHOUT DISCUSSING THE QUESTIONS OR YOUR ANSWERS WITH EACH OTHER. However, after all of you have completed all parts of the survey, you may discuss your responses together, if you wish. PLEASE DO NOT CHANGE ANY OF YOUR ANSWERS. Doing so would invalidate the findings of my study.

ADOLESCENT AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT SURVEY

Part A. YOUTH FORM

ABOUT YOU

PLEASE ANSWER EACH OF THE QUESTIONS IN PART A BY CIRCLING THE NUMBER BESIDE YOUR ANSWER OF BY WRITING YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

1. What is today's date? month__________ date_________ year__________
2. What is your birthdate? month__________ date_________ year__________
3. How old are you today? ___________ years old.
4. What is your sex?
   (1) female
   (2) male
5. In what country were you born?
   (1) Canada
   (2) Other (please specify)________________
6. To which racial group do you belong?
   (1) Asian
   (2) Black
   (3) Caucasian (white)
   (4) North American Indian
   (5) Other (specify) _______________________

7. What is your religious preference?

(1) None

(2) Protestant

(3) Roman Catholic

(4) Jewish

(5) Hindu

(6) Moslem

(7) Other (specify)____________________________

8. How would you describe your interest in religion?

(1) not interested

(2) some interest

(3) very interested

9. What is your marital status?

(1) single

(2) married

(3) separated/divorced

(4) cohabiting

(5) other (specify)____________________________

10. What are your current living arrangements?

(1) living at home with my immediate family (parents, brother(s), sister(s) etc.)

(2) living with my spouse in our own home/apartment etc.

(3) living with my spouse in my family's home

(4) living with my spouse in his/her family's home

(5) living with other relative(s) such as aunt, uncle, brother, sister etc., in their home

(6) living with friends(s) who are not related to me

(7) living in a college/university residence

(8) other (specify)____

11. What is your current educational status?

(1) attending classes full time

(2) attending classes part time

(3) receiving on-the-job-training

(4) not a student (in this case, proceed to question 15)

12. If you are a student, full or part time, which grade or year of your program are you currently registered in?

(1) high school, grade 10

(2) high school, grade 11

(3) high school, grade 12

(4) post-secondary studies, year 1

(5) post-secondary studies, year 2

(6) post-secondary studies, year 3

(7) post secondary studies, year 4

13. If you are a student, full or part time, what kind of course(s) are you taking?

    (Check all that apply)

    (1) high school courses at a high school

    (2) high school courses by correspondence

    (3) university level courses at a university

    (4) university level courses at an affiliated college

    (5) university level courses by correspondence

    (6) university level courses at a private religious college

    (7) religion courses at a Bible school or college

    (8) college level courses at a community college

    (9) business courses at a school of business

    (10) on the job training in business

    (11) technical or trade courses at an institute of technology

    (12) on the job training in a trade or technology

    (13) courses at an agricultural college

    (14) other training program (specify)________________________

14. If you are now a student, has there been a time when you quit school or took a break from your studies for at lease one semester?

    (1) yes (2) no

15. If you are not studying, how long has it been since you left school?

    (1) 0 - 6 months

    (2) 6 months - 1 year

(3) 1 - 2 years

(4) more than 2 years

16. What is your current employment status?

(1) working full time

(2) working part time

(3) do not have a full or part time job

ABOUT YOUR PARENTS

In order to answer the questions in this section of part A, YOU MAY NEED TO CONSULT WITH YOUR PARENTS. If so, please do so. THIS IS THE ONLY SECTION OF THE SURVEY THAT YOU DON'T HAVE TO DO ALL BY YOURSELF.

Remember, "parents" refers to those one or two adults who have been most involved with you as your parents. Thus, the word "father" in the survey may refer to either your natural father or your step-father, and "mother" may refer to either your natural mother or you step-mother. Similarly, "brother" and "sister" may also include step-brothers and step-sisters.

17. Please indicate to whom you have given the survey forms for parents in Envelope Two. (You may check one or two)

(1) natural father

(2) natural mother

(3) step-father

(4) step-mother

(5) other (specify)________________________

18. What is your father's age? ____________ years

19. What is your mother's age? ____________ years

20. What is your father's present marital status?

(1) married

(2) separated

(3) divorced

(4) deceased

(5) remarried

(6) cohabiting

(7) other (specify) ______________________________

21. What is your mother's present marital status?

(1) married

(2) separated

(3) divorced

(4) deceased

(5) remarried

(6) cohabiting

(7) other (specify) ______________________________

22. What is the highest level of education completed by your father?

(1) elementary school

(2) junior high school

(3) senior high school

(4) trade or vocational training

(5) some college/university

(6) college/university degree

(7) graduate professional training

23. What is the highest level of education completed by your mother?

(1) elementary school

(2) junior high school

(3) senior high school

(4) trade or vocational training

(5) some college/university

(6) college/university degree

(7) graduate professional training

24. What is your father's current employment status?

(1) working full time outside of the home

(2) working part time outside of the home

(3) not working outside of the home

25. What is your mother's current employment status?

(1) working full time outside of the home

(2) working part time outside of the home

(3) not working outside of the home

26. What is your father's occupation? ______________________

27. What is your mother's occupation? ______________________

28. How would you describe your parent's religious preference?

(1) None

(2) Protestant

(3) Roman Catholic

(4) Jewish

(5) Hindu

(6) Moslem

(7) Other (specify)______________________________

29. How would you describe your father's interest in religion?

(1) not interested

(2) some interest

(3) very interested

30. How would you describe your mother's interest in religion?

(1) not interested

(2) some interest

(3) very interested

ABOUT YOUR FAMILY

31. How many brothers and sisters do you have altogether? ________

32. How many brothers/sisters are older than you? ___________

33. Who lives with your family now? (Circle all that apply)

    (1) father

    (2) mother

    (3) brother(s)

    (4) sister(s)

    (5) myself

    (6) other relative(s)

    (7) friend(s)

    (8) other(s)? specify ___________________________________

34. How many people are presently living at home with your family?

    ____

PLEASE PROCEED TO PART B, NEXT PAGE

PART B. FAMILY LIFE EVENTS AND CHANGES

This section of the survey was adapted from the Adolescent-Family Inventory of Life Events and Changes (McCubbin, Patterson, Baumann, & Harris, 1981).

On the next two pages is a list of family life changes that could happen in a family at any time. Because family members are connected to each other in some way, a life change in one member affects all the other persons in the family to some degree.

Of course, a family is a group of persons who are related to each other by marriage, blood, or adoption, who may or may not be presently living with you. In this survey, however, "FAMILY" IS MEANT TO INCLUDE ONLY IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS, which may include step-parents, step-brothers, and step-sisters but not uncles, aunts, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, cousins, etc. unless they are living in your home with your family.

DIRECTIONS:

Please read each family life change and decide whether it happened to any member of your immediate family, including you:

1. DURING THE LAST 12 MONTHS

First, decide if it happened any time during the last year and check YES or NO.

2. BEFORE THE LAST 12 MONTHS

Second, for some family changes, you are asked to decide if it happened any time before the last year and check YES or NO. It is okay to check YES twice if it happened both times--before last year and during the past year.

A. Transitions

	DURING last 12 months		BEFORE last 12 months	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
1. Family member started new business (farm, store, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Parent quit or lost job	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Parents separated or divorced	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Parent(s) remarried	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Family member was found to have a learning disorder	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Family member was married	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Parents adopted a child	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. A member started junior or senior high	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Child or teenage member transferred to a new school	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Parent started school	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Brother or sister moved away from home	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Young adult member entered college, vocational training, or armed forces	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Parent(s) started or changed to a new job	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Family moved to a new home	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. Sexuality

15. Unmarried family member became pregnant	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Family member had an abortion	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. Birth of a brother or sister	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. Teenager began having sexual intercourse	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. Losses

19. Family went on welfare	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Damage to or loss of family property due to fire, burglary, or other disaster	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. Brother or sister died	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. Parent died	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. Close family relative died	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. Death of a close friend of a family member	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. Family member or a close family friend attempted or committed suicide	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. Responsibilities and Strains	DURING last 12 months		BEFORE last 12 months	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
26. Family member became seriously ill or injured but NOT hospitalized	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. Family member was hospitalized	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. Family member became physically disabled or was found to have a long term health problem (allergy, asthma, diabetes, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. Family member has emotional problems	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. Grandparent(s) became seriously ill	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. Parent(s) have more responsibility to take care of grandparent(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐
32. Family member ran away	☐	☐	☐	☐
33. More financial debts due to use of credit car or charges	☐	☐	☐	☐
34. Increased family living expenses for medical care, food, clothing, energy costs (gas, heat), etc.	☐	☐		
35. Increase of parent's time away from family	☐	☐		
36. Child or teenage member resists doing things with family	☐	☐		
37. Increase in arguments between parents	☐	☐		
38. Children or teenagers have more arguments with one another	☐	☐		
39. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over use of car or hours to stay out	☐	☐		
40. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over choice of friends and/or social activities	☐	☐		
41. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over attendance at religious events	☐	☐		
42. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over personal appearance (clothes, hair, etc.)	☐	☐		
43. Increased arguments about getting the jobs done at home	☐	☐		
44. Increased pressure for a member at school to get "good" grades or do well in sports or school activities	☐	☐		

	DURING last 12 months		BEFORE last 12 months	
E. Substance Use	YES	NO	YES	NO
45. Family member uses drugs (not prescribed)	☐	☐	☐	☐
46. Family member drinks too much alcohol	☐	☐	☐	☐
47. Child or teenage member was suspended from school or dropped out of school	☐	☐	☐	☐
48. Parent(s) and teenager(s) have increased arguments over use of cigarettes, alcohol or drugs	☐	☐		
F. Legal Conflict				
49. Family member went to jail, juvenile detention, or was placed on probation	☐	☐	☐	☐
50. Family member was robbed or attacked (physically or sexually)	☐	☐	☐	☐

PLEASE PROCEED TO PART C.

PART C. ISSUES AND VALUES

Adapted from the Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979)

The following questions deal with your thoughts and feelings about career plans, politics, and religion.

Please refer to the following scale in responding to the questions

1	2	3	4	5	6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	MODERATELY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	MODERATELY AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

READ EACH ITEM AND CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH REPRESENTS THE STATEMENT WHICH BEST REFLECTS YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS

1. I haven't really considered politics. they just don't excite me much

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. I might have though about a lot of different careers but I've never really made a decision since my parents have usually said what they want me to do.

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. When it comes to religion, I just haven't found any that I really want to get involved with.

1 2 3 4 5 6

4. My parents decided a long time ago what career I should go into and I'm following their plans.

1 2 3 4 5 6

5. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out.

1 2 3 4 5 6

6. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other.

1 2 3 4 5 6

1	2	3	4	5	6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	MODERATELY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	MODERATELY AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

---

7. I guess I'm pretty much like my parents when it comes to politics. I follow what they do in terms of voting and such.

1 2 3 4 5 6

8. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, but I'm working toward becoming a ____ until something better comes along.

1 2 3 4 5 6

9. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I believe.

1 2 3 4 5 6

10. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career.

1 2 3 4 5 6

11. I really never was involved in politics enough to have to make a firm stand one way or the other.

1 2 3 4 5 6

12. I'm not so sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet.

1 2 3 4 5 6

13. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I may or may not agree with many of my parent's beliefs.

1 2 3 4 5 6

14. It took me a while to figure it out but now I really know what I want for a career.

1 2 3 4 5 6

1	2	3	4	5	6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	MODERATELY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	MODERATELY AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

---

15. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and what is wrong to me.

1 2 3 4 5 6

16. I'm sure it will be pretty easy for me to change my occupational goals when something better comes along.

1 2 3 4 5 6

17. My parents have always had their own political and moral beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and I've always gone along accepting what they believe.

1 2 3 4 5 6

18. I've gone through a period of serious questioning about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual.

1 2 3 4 5 6

19. I'm not sure about my political beliefs but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.

1 2 3 4 5 6

20. I just can't decide how capable I am as a person and what jobs I'll be right for.

1 2 3 4 5 6

21. I attend the same church or other religious institution as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why.

1 2 3 4 5 6

22. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many that have possibilities.

1	2	3	4	5	6
STRONGLY DISAGREE	MODERATELY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	MODERATELY AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

---

23. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents it must be right for me.

1 2 3 4 5 6

24. Politics are something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I believe in.

1 2 3 4 5 6

PLEASE PROCEED TO PART D.

PART D. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Adapted from the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES III) (Olson, Portner, & Lavee, 1985).

THE FOLLOWING SCALE IS TO BE USED IN ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS

1	2	3	4	5
ALMOST NEVER	ONCE IN A WHILE	SOMETIMES	FREQUENTLY	ALMOST ALWAYS

Print the number in each of the spaces provided which best represents how you would DESCRIBE YOUR FAMILY NOW.

______ 1. Family members ask each other for help.

______ 2. In solving problems, the children's suggestions are followed.

______ 3. We approve of each other's friends.

______ 4. Children have a say in their discipline.

______ 5. We like to do things with just our immediate family.

______ 6. Different persons act as leaders in our family.

______ 7. Family members feel closer to other family members than to people outside the family.

______ 8. Our family changes its way of handling tasks.

______ 9. Family members like to spend free time with each other.

______ 10. Parent(s) and children discuss punishment together.

______ 11. Family members feel very close to each other.

______ 12. The children make the decisions in our family.

______ 13. When our family gets together for activities, everybody is present

______ 14. Rules change in our family.

______ 15. We can easily think of things to do together as a family.

______ 16. We shift household responsibilities from person to person

______ 17. Family members consult other family members on their decisions.

______ 18. It is hard to identify the leader(s) in our family.

______ 19. Family togetherness is very important.

______ 20. It is hard to tell who does which household chores.

PLEASE PROCEED TO PART E.

PART E. FAMILY SATISFACTION

Adapted from the Family Satisfaction measure (Olson & Wilson, 1985).

The following scale is to be used in answering each question

1	2	3	4	5
DISSATISFIED	SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	GENERALLY SATISFIED	VERY SATISFIED	EXTREMELY SATISFIED

HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU:

______ 1. With how close you feel to the rest of your family?

______ 2. With your ability to say what you want in your family?

______ 3. With your family's ability to try new things?

______ 4. With how often parents make decisions in your family?

______ 5. With how much mother and father argue with each other?

______ 6. With how fair the criticism is in your family?

______ 7. With the amount of time you spend with your family?

______ 8. With the way you talk together to solve family problems?

______ 9. With your freedom to be alone when you want to?

______ 10. With how strictly you stay with who does what chores in your family?

______ 11. With your family's acceptance of your friends?

______ 12. With how clear it is what your family expects of you?

______ 13. With how often you make decisions as a family, rather than individually?

______ 14. With the number of fun things your family does together?

THE SURVEY HAS NOW BEEN COMPLETED

Thank you for your participation in this research project.

Please place all the competed parts of your survey and your parents' completed surveys in the envelope supplied and return them to me as soon as possible.